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The Twentieth of July in the History of the German Resistance

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AT a few minutes before six o'clock on Thursday evening, July 20, 1944, the German-language monitors of the BBC's vast eavesdropping system heard a Berlin announcer interrupt the Transocean Agency musical broadcast then in progress with the terse statement that an attempt had been made on the life of Adolf Hitler. No details of time, place, or participants were given; and when Hitler, Doenitz, and Goering spoke over the air shortly after midnight, their brief messages were completely taken up with congratulations to the German people on the Führer's providential escape and with nervous assurances that the armed forces were unshaken in their loyalty. Thus the outside world received its first report of the putsch attempt which has remained one of the most sensational incidents in the history of the Third Reich.

The trials of Field Marshal von Witzleben and his co-defendants on August 7 and 8 and the subsequent proceedings against civilian participants

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provided scattered clues to the plot's ramifications, at the same time attracting interest to the list of prominent Germans arraigned before Judge Roland Freisler in the People's Court. Wartime attempts to explore the composition and significance of the conspiracy, however, were confronted by a variety of obstacles, not least of which was the preoccupation of Allied observers with the more immediate implications of continuing German military operations. The assassination attempt had failed; this seemed the decisive fact. Hitler's position had if anything been strengthened by the occasion given his machine to execute countless potential opponents. Germany's mobilization had immediately been made more complete through the substitution of Himmler for Fromm as commander of the home army and the appointment of Goebbels as "Reich delegate for the total war effort." The Allies, cognizant of the Germans' traditional discipline in wartime and impressed by the mass power organized in support of the Nazi program, inevitably saw more importance in the fact that Germany was still fighting than in undocumented reports of revolt. The precedent of Hitler's rigged "assassination attempt"—the Munich *Bürgerbräuhof* explosion of November 8, 1939—furnished additional cause for skepticism.

The official Nazi interpretation of the plot was well calculated to foster disillusionment both at home and abroad. Under Propaganda Ministry directives, every mention in press or radio characterized the dissidents as a "criminal clique of reactionary officers."[1] The army's role was under no circumstances to be made an occasion for open warfare between the military and the party. Himmler explicitly informed all officials of the SS and the SD (party security service) that: "The Führer desires that in any treatment of the events of July 20, 1944, no one should permit himself to be carried away to the point of attacking or abusing the officer corps, the generals, the nobility, or the *Wehrmacht* in corpore. . . . Whenever any mention is made of the behavior of the traitor clique, simultaneous mention must also be made of the irreproachable behavior of the army."[2] The incident, according to Goebbels, had removed the last danger of another "stab in the back." Considering the absence of any detectable strategic consequence and the predominantly military-conservative character of the identified putschists, small wonder that the prevailing contemporary view in the Allied countries should have been that expressed at the time of the event by an American newspaper: "This time the stab in the back is to be blamed on the army leaders themselves . . . and

[1] "Instructions to Editors," German Telegraph Service, July 21, 1944.
[2] Letter dated Aug. 17, 1944, *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* File No. 128/44 g.

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it will suit the vanity of the 'master race' to believe that it was betrayed from within rather than that it was defeated by its inferiors from without."[8]

From the historian's standpoint, however, one of the first tangible returns of the Nazi collapse has come in the opportunity to examine documents and conduct interviews concerning the anti-Hitler movement within Germany. During the summer and fall of 1945 the writer had occasion to make use of both types of sources, though by no means to exhaust the vast quantity of material still to be given specialized examination by students interested in particular aspects of the conspiracy and its denouement. In the space of the present article it is possible only to indicate something of the plot's extent and to suggest certain relevant problems which recommend themselves as potentially rewarding objects of historical analysis. Aside from the antiquarian interest value of dramatic details and certain interesting insights into the techniques and vulnerabilities of revolt in the modern totalitarian state, such studies promise to make substantial contributions to our understanding of two vital aspects of World War II. The first of these is Germany's national psychology before, during, and immediately after the conflict; the second, Nazism's own essential characteristics.

Of the personal accounts of anti-Nazism in general and of July 20 in particular which were given to Allied authorities as soon as complete occupation of Germany was underway (and in some cases even before the cessation of hostilities), very many were more impressive for volume and enthusiasm than for authenticity. In addition to the usual motives for distortion, the authors of these accounts yielded in many cases to a special consideration inherent in the conditions of military government. This was the undeniable fact that for most MG officials engaged in selecting Germans for administrative posts, any display of familiarity with July 20 lent immediate prestige to the would-be appointee. Out of dozens of chroniclers of the conspiracy, however, it is possible to select several who, in spite of perfectly apparent biases, have yet given us coherent and on the whole well-corroborated accounts.

One such is Hans Bernd Gisevius, a former intelligence agent attached to the Zurich consulate and source of the prior warning that anti-Hitler measures were being planned which was relayed to Washington in the spring of 1944 by Allen W. Dulles, then chief of the Bern mission of the Office of Strategic Services. Gisevius spent six months in hiding in Berlin after the bomb attempt, escaping to Switzerland only late in January, 1945, with the

[8] New York *Times*, Aug. 13, 1944.

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aid of the Dulles mission. His manuscript[4] exhibits the qualities of opportunism and self-elevation which made its author generally unpopular with the other conspirators and which led the British Secret Service to drop him as a sub-source in 1943. Nevertheless, his firsthand knowledge of at least the last two years of the Beck-Goerdeler venture is not denied even by his critics, and his story remains an important contribution.

A second valuable manuscript is that of Baron Albrecht von Kessel, former legation counselor to Weizsaecker, German ambassador to the Vatican. Kessel's narrative obviously can provide no close reporting on the late developments within Germany, but it does furnish information concerning earlier conspiratorial activities, including those which immediately preceded the outbreak of war. An even more detailed account of the 1938 and 1939 episodes has been supplied by Erich Kordt, who during that period was in charge of Ribbentrop's own ministerial bureau in the Foreign Office.[5] One other manuscript which deserves special mention, particularly since it represents the recollections of a leftist participant in what was primarily a right-wing venture, is that of the Heidelberg Socialist and associate of Alfred Weber, Emil Henk.

Many of the most valuable accounts have never been committed to writing by their authors and have found expression only in interviews with Allied investigators.[6] Even the selected personal manuscripts by no means represent the entire range of documentary materials. Specimens of private collections of relevant papers, scattered throughout Germany, continually find their way into the current German press. The discovery in January, 1946, of the People's Court (*Volksgerichtshof*) records, long believed destroyed, restores a collection of evidence, samples of which have already been reproduced by a Munich newspaper.[7] Despite the propaganda uses to which the Nazis put the People's Court proceedings, for their own perusal they entered in the

[4] Already published as part of his record of the entire Nazi period, *Bis zum bitteren Ende* (2 vols., Zurich, 1946).

[5] Kordt's information has been recorded by Professor Harold C. Deutsch of the University of Minnesota, on the basis of interviews conducted in December, 1945, and a written statement prepared by Kordt himself.

[6] Among the most productive interrogations have been those of Dr. Josef Mueller, Munich lawyer, former German intelligence agent in Rome and at present state chairman of the Bavarian Christian Social Union; Ilse von Hassell, widow of the executed Ulrich von Hassell; Andreas Hermes, veteran Centrist and Reich Food Minister in 1921–1922; Gustav Dahrendorf, Berlin Social Democratic leader, now in the British occupation zone; the Professor Karl Bonhoeffer family in Berlin, which lost two sons and two sons-in-law in the executions following July 20; and Reverend Harald Poelchau, an observer of the aftermath from his post as chaplain of the Tegel Prison.

[7] *Die Neue Zeitung*, Feb. 1 and 4, 1946. By arraigning the defendants before the dreaded People's Court, the special organ for dealing with crimes against the state, the Nazis made full use of the propaganda opportunities provided them by bombastic and bullying techniques of its president, Judge Roland Freisler, while at the same time presenting a show of "full and impartial hearings." In the case of the military defendants, it was necessary for a special army court of honor first to expel them from the service in order to bring them under the competence of the *Volksgericht*.

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record a remarkably full and accurate selection of exhibits. Closely related to these items are the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (Reich Central Security Office, or RSHA) reports prepared during Himmler's investigation of the plot and now assembled in Nuremberg for use by the International Military Tribunal. Lastly, also in Nuremberg, there exist Propaganda Ministry films of the trials, which reproduce the oral testimony at a length of more than nine hours projection time.

As these various sources became available and received at least preliminary examination, the first details of the conspiracy to be clarified, the most dramatic and hence now the most widely known were those relating to the actual happenings on July 20. Stauffenberg's placing of the map case containing a time bomb beside Hitler's chair at the staff meeting in the East Prussian *Führerhauptquartier*[8] near Rastenburg, the attempt's miscarriage because of Hitler's absence from his seat when the explosion took place and because of the blast's dispersal through the shed's flimsy roof, Stauffenberg's confidence that he had succeeded, and the orders dispatched to all field and *Wehrkreis*[9] commanders by the conspirators in the War Ministry on the strength of his assurances are familiar features of every account.[10] Perhaps less familiar are the disastrous consequences which followed from General of Signal Troops Erich Fellgiebel's failure to destroy the Rastenburg radio transmitter and Hitler's resulting ability to inform all commanding generals of his escape, as well as to order the Berlin guard regiment to arrest rather than protect the men in the Bendlerstrasse. A few generals—notably Heinrich von Stülpnagel in Paris, who had already taken action against the SS and who paid for it with his life—were too deeply committed by their own behavior to turn back; but the majority were able to repudiate the conspirators before incriminating themselves.[11] The ferocity of the aftermath was sufficient not only to locate and destroy practically all the actual ringleaders but also to take

[8] The *Führerhauptquartier* was Hitler's personal headquarters and assembly of military advisers, as opposed to the regular Supreme Army Headquarters, located only a few miles away.

[9] The German *Wehrkreis,* constituting a military district within the Reich, corresponded most closely to the "corps area" of the United States.

[10] An example of the conspirators' intention of using army-party hatred to win rank-and-file support for the initial steps of their coup appears in the wording of the order to army commanders, transmitted in Witzleben's name. The order, which calls for immobilization of all Nazi forces, begins as follows: "The Führer Adolf Hitler is dead. An unscrupulous clique of behind-the-lines [*frontfremder*] Party leaders . . . have attempted to seize power for their own purposes." The army's role was to have been portrayed as that of law-enforcement under conditions of intra-party treachery, at least until the transfer of power should have been completed. The text of the Witzleben order is reproduced in *Die Neue Zeitung* (Munich), Feb. 4, 1946.

[11] Not all. Fromm was executed even after having personally had Stauffenberg, Deputy Home Army Commander Olbricht and several other officers court-martialed and shot on the evening of the twentieth, in a vain effort to exterminate all possible witnesses against himself. Similarly, Kluge, who had arrested Stülpnagel for the latter's part in the abortive revolt, was himself subsequently ordered to return from Paris to Berlin and escaped trial only by committing suicide en route.

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the lives of hundreds of other known critics of the regime, some of them, such as the Communist leader, Ernst Thälmann, killed in concentration camps where they had already been in confinement for years.

Strongly suggested but not clearly defined in the first accounts of the putsch was the complex composition of the conspiratorial group. The original Goebbels description of "a criminal clique of reactionary officers" had been contradicted by the Nazis themselves when they announced in September, 1944, that among the civilian defendants in the second set of trials would be not only the putschists' intended Reich Chancellor, Dr. Karl Goerdeler, national price commissioner under Brüning and lord mayor of Leipzig from 1930 until 1936, but also former Ambassador to Italy Ulrich von Hassell, former Ambassador to the USSR Count Werner von der Schulenburg, and a veteran Social Democrat, former Hessian Minister of Interior Wilhelm Leuschner. These names and the others which emerged in Nazi broadcasts and press reports were supplemented by later narratives until the list of what might accurately be described as significant figures in the conspiracy had reached a length of over three hundred. The list, however, had yet to be broken into categories if the actual composition of the participating group was to be made coherent. Any such process of classifying participants in terms of backgrounds and motives inevitably leads to a degree of artificial discipline, especially with regard to those troublesome individual cases which appear to fall into more than one category or, even worse, into none. Nevertheless, some breakdown constitutes a necessary preparation for bringing any order to the background data, with its tortuous chronology and its jumble of conflicting judgments concerning individual roles.

It will not be said that the German nation was in any sense mobilized by the conspiratorial leaders; but among those who after varying periods of discussing resistance followed Goerdeler and the former Chief of the General Staff, Colonel General Ludwig Beck, into the attempt of July 20 were representatives of all the following elements in German society: (1) army men, including the retired generals who had maintained contact with Beck, younger officers like Stauffenberg and Yorck von Wartenburg, and the latecomers, notably Rommel and Kluge; (2) retired civil servants, old acquaintances of Goerdeler; (3) dissidents within the Foreign Office, led by former Rhodes scholar Adam von Trott zu Solz, Hans-Bernd von Haeften, and Count Albrecht von Bernstorff; (4) officials, both military and civilian, of the Supreme Command's intelligence division (*Amtsgruppe Auslandsnachrichten und Abwehr,* or more often, simply *Abwehr*); (5) industrialists, such as the chemical magnate, Fritz von Philipp, and former Krupp financial adviser

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Ewald Loeser; (6) representatives of the families Kleist, Hardenberg, Marogna-Redwitz, and other great landed houses; (7) Socialist colleagues of Leuschner, including Julius Leber and Theodor Haubach; (8) renegade Nazis, among them Berlin Police President Count Wolf von Helldorf, one of the most notorious of the early Storm Troop chieftains, organizer of the first anti-Jewish riot on the Kurfürstendamm and one of the group who managed the Reichstag fire; (9) scattered clergymen, both Protestant and Catholic; and (10) intellectual critics of the regime, represented by a few university professors and by the members of various discussion groups. Best known of such discussion groups was that presided over by Count Helmuth von Moltke and called the "Kreisau circle" after Moltke's estate in Silesia. The variety of individuals drawn together in this remarkable aggregation is indicated by a partial list prepared by Emil Henk, himself one of the members. It includes the names of the Socialists Theodor Haubach, Carlo Mierendorf (until his death during an air raid in Leipzig in December, 1943), Adolf Reichwein, Julius Leber, and Henk; Protestant minister Eugen Gerstenmaier and Jesuit Father Delp; and young aristocrats, including Moltke himself and Count Peter Yorck von Wartenburg. Not specifically pledged to active resistance, the members of the Kreisau circle appear to have been held together by the philosophical rejection of Nazi theory and were in fact nearly all implicated in the final putsch attempt.

The sources which provide the basis for distinctions among the component groups also make possible some insight into the heretofore obscure history of conspiratorial activities during the war years and those immediately preceding the attack on Poland. The early plans, insofar as they ever approached the point of open resistance, were limited to the army, although as early as 1937 Goerdeler was beginning his efforts to coalesce active opposition among his acquaintances in the government and private business. True, some individual idealists had never ceased to express their moral indignation at Nazi excesses; but no danger involved in analysis of German opposition to Hitler is more tempting nor at the same time more misleading than that of pressing too far the significance of purely religious or humanitarian revolt.

The decisive driving forces must be sought elsewhere: in the framework of German foreign affairs and in Nazi assaults on entrenched interests. It was no accident that the year 1938, the first in which energetically led and potentially powerful anti-Nazi measures were discussed, was also the year of both the Fritsch-Blomberg affair and the Sudeten crisis. If the latter was needed to bring home to certain well-informed Germans the imminence of war with Great Britain and France, the former supplied unblinkable proof

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of the successful Nazi invasion of military command functions. In February, 1938, when Hitler took advantage of the quarrel between the Chief of the Army Command, Fritsch, and the War Minister, Blomberg, to force the retirement of both, he not only formalized his supremacy over the military by assuming personal command of the newly created Supreme Command (*Oberkommando der Wehrmacht*) but also gave clear notice that he no longer felt the need to tread so lightly on the prestige and immunities of the army's elite as had been the case during his earlier years in power.

This demonstration, followed a few months later by the threat of war with the western powers over the Czechoslovakian issue, had such a negative effect on the majority of generals, that when in the late summer Beck announced to a secret staff meeting his intention of resigning as Chief of the General Staff should Hitler order the army to use force against the Czechs, every army group commander was willing to promise that he would not accept appointment as Beck's successor. Beck's argument, we are told, ran that Germany could not fight a world coalition, that the German people could be prevented from following Hitler into a world conflict, and that so long as action against Czechoslovakia meant war with the Allies of 1918 he could make his own resignation the signal for seizure of power by the army and denunciation of the Nazis as warmongers. The degree of army opposition at the time of the Sudeten crisis is reflected in the independent sources which agree that in September, 1938, General Erich Hoeppner, one of Beck's supporters, was stationed in Thuringia with a full armored division and orders to block any attempt of Hitler's bodyguard division, the *Leibstandarte,* quartered in Munich, to move on Berlin in defense of the Führer. Early in September, when informed by Hitler that the army must be prepared to invade the Sudetenland, Beck announced his resignation, as planned; but the basic premise supporting his entire hypothesis seemed to collapse when on September 13 it was announced that Chamberlain would travel to Godesberg to seek a compromise solution.[12] Halder now accepted Beck's vacated post, arguing that the changed situation released him from his promise, since war with Britain was no longer certain, but promising that he would order action against the Nazis should the Allies stiffen. With the apparent breakdown of negotiations at Godesberg, putsch preparations were resumed and the army manifesto set for September 29; but, according to Kordt, Hitler's announce-

[12] According to Kordt, Chamberlain's first mission to Germany was undertaken even after an oral message from the conspirators, urging flat rejection of Hitler's demands, had been delivered to British Foreign Minister Halifax by Kordt's brother, Theodore, then German chargé in London. The interview is supposed to have taken place at Number 10 Downing Street on the night of September 5, 1938.

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ment on the twenty-eighth of Chamberlain's and Daladier's acceptance of the invitation to Munich toppled the never-steady structure of revolt and left Beck an embittered but still determined figure in retirement.

This first and, until July, 1944, most promising putsch plan has been noted at some length, not only because it revealed the weaknesses of the army's traditional concept of rebellion, which implied that Hitler could be unseated by passive resistance and that Nazi countermeasures (this even after the 1934 "blood purge"!) could be blocked by a single division in Thuringia but also because it illustrated the supreme importance of Hitler's success or failure in foreign policy. The state of the Reich's diplomatic and military fortunes was to constitute an inverse barometer of resistance prospects for the six years which followed. The story of the conspiracy during the war, however, can here be sketched only briefly. August, 1939, found new discussions under way concerning a possible concerted refusal to march; once more Beck, Witzleben, Olbricht, Hoeppner, and others who were to die after July 20 were actively seeking to impress other army men with the dire prospects of the approaching war. But Halder's was now the key position, as Beck's had been before Godesberg; and Halder refused to give the signal for mutiny when Hitler launched the Wehrmacht into Poland. The early German victories removed all immediate hope of large-scale army support for Beck's plans: to the personal oath which bound the armed forces to Hitler and the greatly increased difficulty of mobilizing rebellion in the midst of wartime's intensified patriotism was added the effect of the impressive Polish, Norwegian, Dutch, Belgian, French, Balkan, and early Russian campaigns. The army, like most of the population, surrendered itself to admiration of the Führer's seemingly intuitive genius. The repulse before Moscow in December, 1941, was momentarily sobering; but the following summer found German armies surging toward the Caucasus, the Volga, and the Nile, while their new far eastern ally gave promise of both crippling the British and immobilizing the Americans far from European battlefields.

Even in the midst of victories, however, Beck's military circle had made contact with Goerdeler and the assortment of civilian elements clustered about him—no alliance of appreciable power as yet, but a nucleus. At this point it may be of value to digress briefly to explain the emergence of another extremely active wing of the resistance: the *Abwehr* under Admiral Wilhelm Canaris. This agency, which was composed of civilians as well as army and navy personnel, was charged by the Supreme Command with foreign intelligence gathering, a field in which it inevitably came into conflict with Himmler's ambitious use of the Nazi party intelligence organs for

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similar work. From the time he embarked upon his assignment in 1935, Canaris appears to have been willing to tolerate and even to protect active anti-Nazis under his command; but the principal development in this respect centered around General Hans Oster, chief of the *Abwehr's* central bureau, who gathered about him like-minded acquaintances, among them Gisevius and Josef Mueller. Hence, when November, 1942, brought the triple setback of Stalingrad, El Alamein, and Algeria, Oster and Beck-Goerdeler representatives were ready to resume agitation for a putsch. The negotiations with the eastern front commanders broke down when Paulus accepted the promise of a marshal's baton, turned his back on all suggestions of rebellion, and returned to his already nearly encircled Stalingrad army; but the Nazis were sufficiently agitated over reports of these activities to undertake an investigation of the *Abwehr,* culminating in Oster's expulsion from office and the arrest of numerous suspects, including Mueller and Pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

Early in 1943, the completion of the Stalingrad disaster and the Allies' conquest of North Africa for the first time weakened the army's confidence in Hitler's strategic judgment and brought sizable numbers of disillusioned officers and civilian officials into the conspirators' camp. From the spring of 1943 on, Beck found himself the co-ordinator and Goerdeler the principal activist in a steadily growing body of men convinced that only Hitler's deposition could prevent the physical destruction of Germany. The decision that assassination itself would be necessary, however, and the conviction that only heavy military pressure from both east and west could force the necessary number of army commanders to support so violent a solution induced the conspirators to wait for the invasion of western Europe. Six weeks and two days after D Day, after three false starts early in July and in the midst of aroused Nazi suspicions, they launched their ill-fated bid for power.[18]

At least as significant as the foregoing chronology, but unfortunately not documented to any comparable degree, is the nature of the conspirators' long-range aims, the composition and policies of the envisaged post-Hitler government. Aside from the paucity of source materials, the whole subject is complicated by the serious divergences of opinion within the group which were never resolved and had to be glossed over in the interest of immediate unity.

[18] By the summer of 1944, the earlier surrender terms envisaged by the conspirators: German withdrawal to pre-1938 frontiers, a break with Japan, punishment of war criminals, full reparations and restitution, and repeal of the Nuremberg Decrees, had given way to expectations more in keeping with Germany's now hopeless bargaining position. The aim of reducing to the minimum territorial losses and the area of Germany to be occupied by Soviet forces remained; but in the main the single purpose of cutting short the Reich's useless resistance had come to appear an end in itself.

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There are recurrent hints, for example, that the Kreisau circle favored not only an internal policy strongly suggestive of "national bolshevism" but also a clearly pro-Soviet foreign policy, and that even in the last days before the assassination attempt Stauffenberg himself was at odds with Goerdeler over the latter's insistence on dealing only with the western Allies. In general, however, the surviving memorandums, especially one by Goerdeler on the proposed structure of a new German state[14] and a second prepared by three Freiburg University professors, Gerhard Ritter, Constantin von Dietze, and Adolf Lampe on the ideology of anti-Nazism, outline a distinctly conservative program. In this connection, it is worth noting that the panel of ministers-designate included the names of four army men, three *Deutschnationale,* five Centrists, and only two Social Democrats. Goerdeler proposed no broadly based democracy but rather a *Ständestaat,* a confederacy governed by class and professional representatives, with adequate safeguards for vested interests. The entire document gives the reader some cause to wonder whether the prospective chancellor would have been as enthusiastic for the Revolution of 1848 as he was for that of 1945. Given any opportunity for self-expression, the German groups not included in the traditional ruling classes might well have made the chief task of an initially successful putschist regime one not of concluding peace but of staying in power at all.

Out of the conspiracy's history, composition, and aims emerges a series of questions which will only be adequately answered through future application of historical techniques to the steadily growing body of pertinent source materials. One such problem relates to the nature of the Nazi security controls and the techniques of conspiratorial activity which they imposed. Despite the observer's easy assertion that Hitler's was the most ruthlessly efficient police state in history, the political implications of those police methods become clear only in their demonstrated effect on potential opposition. In a population reduced to almost complete formlessness except for the form imposed by the government and infiltrated with enough *agents provocateurs* to make perilous even the most privy expression of doubt in the regime, oppositional alignments necessarily fell into the pattern of old associations and official organizations which still retained some measure of freedom from party domination. To Hitler's counterrevolutionary regime the traditional mass organizations of the Left, such as the trade unions, were at once the most obviously dan-

[14] The 45-page document includes an initial summary of the opposition's development and problems, followed by a series of "directives" with regard to governmental organization, economics, church and state, educational institutions, and the punishment of German war criminals. It bears no date but was probably composed in the spring of 1944.

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gerous and the most easily crushed by ruthless police action. The groupings of the Right, on the other hand, relying less upon numerical power than upon the individual influence of relatively few members, were less easily controlled even after their old alliance with the Nazis could no longer be relied upon by the regime. In this sense the Nazi measures drove active resistance increasingly into the hands of conservatives. Thus the circle of retired army officers who wandered in and out of the home army offices had, in addition to the chance to observe the effects of the Nazi program at home and to reflect on the strategic situation, both the partial immunity bestowed by rank and the ready-made network of personal contacts needed to give a semblance of organization to their projects. Similarly, Goerdeler, with his many acquaintances among the worried civil servants, could offer the prospect of action which attracted Socialists like Leuschner and Leber, after all hope of mass action in the form of a general strike had vanished. And among the still active officials, it was those in the army, the *Abwehr,* and the Foreign Office—all agencies with some independent prestige, and the latter two possessed of numerous excuses for foreign travel and contacts—who were able to do most toward setting the stage for revolt.

Growing out of these conditions was a serious dilemma confronting the German Left. Overthrow of the Nazis by some means remained the *sine qua non* for any future relief for suppressed groups. On the other hand, overt steps involving force were within the power only of the army and secondarily the professional governing class, both clearly dominated by the traditional Right. The prospect of successful revolt was thus accompanied by the threat of a reactionary aftermath. There is evidence that many of the Socialist leaders, at least in western Germany, differed with Leuschner's view that Goerdeler was at least one degree better (or weaker!) than Hitler. Another consideration which entered the thinking of many left-wing leaders was that of the choice presented them: support the conspiracy to end the war quickly but under conservative auspices or stand aloof and wait for unconditional collapse to damage more seriously the controls which would otherwise be operative in favor of the Right. To choose the latter may appear more calloused and antinational in retrospect than it actually was at the time, given the fact that many within Germany, as well as in the Allied countries, fully expected the Reich's military disintegration before autumn, without the months of crushing bombing which in fact proved necessary during the winter of 1944–1945. Instead, these men chose to abstain from committing themselves to the putsch but at the same time to prepare for political action aimed at carrying its social and economic consequences far beyond the point envisaged by its planners.

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The conspirators' attempt to win Communist support came only in the last few days, when Adolf Reichwein, a Socialist member of the Kreisau circle, volunteered to present the putsch program to the clandestine Communist Central Committee in Berlin. This venture ended in disaster even before its results were communicated to the conspirators; for on July 10 Reichwein, Leber, and the Communist committeemen all were arrested, according to some explanations because the Gestapo had succeeded in penetrating the central committee itself.[15] The absence of significant left-wing support for Goerdeler has remained one of the most bitterly debated aspects of the plot. Conservative survivors attribute it to cowardice or myopia on the part of the Left, while their opponents condemn the whole conspiracy as one which never genuinely sought popular backing.

Another aspect concerning which much is yet to be written, perhaps from the philosophical as well as from the historical point of view, is that of the variety of motivations represented within the German resistance movement. Obviously, anti-Nazis within the Reich faced one problem not shared by resistants elsewhere under Hitler's control: that of reconciling patriotism with active opposition, especially once Germany was at war. Whatever his crimes, could the assassination of the chief of state in the midst of war be viewed as other than high treason? Or could there be invoked a higher, though still national, loyalty, that of the *Yorck-Tat,*[16] the responsibility to act for the eventual salvation of Germany even at the cost of immediate capitulation to foreign enemies? Among those who could bring themselves to gamble their lives on destroying Hitler there were many whose chief concern was not enlightened patriotism; but there were many others, including the Foreign Office dissidents and most of the army conspirators, who were convinced that defeat was inevitable and who saw in revolt the only hope of preventing a last-ditch battle ending in Germany's ruin. The case of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel is illuminating in this connection, for until ten days before the attempt he had rebuffed all approaches concerned with rebellion. At a conference with Hitler on July 9, 1944, however, he reportedly expressed a pessimistic view of the Allied power being poured into Normandy and insisted that his forces must fall back into the French interior or be enveloped

[15] Gisevius, Dahrendorf, Alfred Weber, and Henk are among the sources who agree on the details of this incident.

[16] The reference is to the act of General Yorck von Wartenburg and the unauthorized convention of Tauroggen, December 30, 1812, which he concluded with the Russians while the king of Prussia was still an ally of Napoleon and the Prussian army under Yorck part of the imperial army. This unprecedented action by a stiff-necked Prussian Junker has been debated and yet gloried in ever since. It was not until February 3, 1813, that Frederick William III broke with Napoleon and issued his appeal to his people to rise and fight the French.

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by exactly the type of thrust which in fact developed after the Avranches break-through. Hitler flatly refused to sanction withdrawal. Upon leaving the meeting, Rommel followed Kluge's example by informing the chief conspiratorial agent in Paris, Lieutenant Colonel Caesar von Hofacker, that he would now support whatever measures were necessary to end the fighting.[17] For most of the latecomers, it was not Hitler's program but his failure to achieve success with it which apparently motivated their opposition.

To the conservative mind, the prospect of defeat carried with it the urgent need to control the domestic concomitants of defeat. For a former price commissioner, a Krupp financier, or a great landowner, the thought of social disintegration, workers' and soldiers' councils, the whole bolshevization of collapse, as they envisaged it, could appear more frightening even than that of complete occupation by foreign armies. Hence, Goerdeler, Loeser, Kleist, and their collaborators sought the expedient by which the disastrous outcome of Nazi foreign policy might yet be prevented from destroying the entire social and economic order under which they had prospered. The danger of too rigid compartmentalization of groups and motives is apparent in any discussion of Goerdeler's case, for moral considerations as well as personal ambition unquestionably played their part in his thinking; but in the latter stages of the war the determination to cut Germany's losses appears to have been the dominant aim of his indefatigable efforts.

Even within the army group, however, fear of complete collapse is not an adequate explanation for all the opposition. Those officers who went into the conspiracy long before military disaster seemed conceivable appear instead to have acted on the fear, based, among other things, upon the Fritsch ouster and the steadily growing power of the SS, that in winning the war the military class might still lose its traditional place in German society. For such officers the survival of the professional prestige and independence won in the nineteenth century seemed considerably more important than that of even the German government. Beck's own case is complicated in this regard by the presence in his thinking of a counterinfluence, personified by Fritsch's pre-

[17] The most complete accounts of the Paris developments are those of Dr. Reinhard Brink, now of Frankfurt a/M; Baron Friedrich von Teuchert, formerly of the Military Government for France; and Lieutenant Colonel Rudolf Damrath, formerly Stülpnagel's staff chaplain. Rommel was out of action on the day of the putsch attempt, having been wounded by an American strafing plane on July 17. According to his widow, however, the field marshal was nearing recovery at his Württemberg home in Herrlingen bei Ulm when, on October 12, 1944, he received a visit from OKW and Gestapo officials, who insisted that he accompany them to Berlin. These officers are supposed to have offered Rommel the choice between arraignment and suicide, and after departing from Herrlingen by car he availed himself of the opportunity to take poison. *Cf. Schwäbische Donau-Zeitung* (Ulm), Mar. 9, 1946.

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decessor as Chief of the Army Command, the remarkable Colonel General Kurt von Hammerstein, who until his death in 1943 was consistently critical not only of Hitlerism but also of German militarism itself. Beck, the son of a Rhineland family of businessmen and intellectuals, may well have developed beyond the stage of putting the army forever first; but it seems safe to say that many of his circle had not.

It was not altogether necessary, however, to have decades of cherished tradition behind one's organization in order to feel resentment toward Nazi ambitions. In the case of the relatively young *Abwehr,* fierce rivalry with the Nazi party intelligence agencies, the defeatism present in the complex personality of Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, and the tendency of resistants to surround themselves with others who shared their views were sufficient to make this most secretive branch of the High Command the best example of bureaucratic competition's becoming genuine opposition. The activities of Oster, Hansen, Josef Mueller, and other *Abwehr* officials were never altogether unknown to Himmler and the RSHA chief, Kaltenbrunner; but six years were required before the latter succeeded in bringing the agency under their theoretical control, in January, 1944, and even then its plotting continued.

If the prospect of defeat carried with it threats to national and class interests, as seen by the conservative conspirators, it implied real personal danger to active Nazis. It is scarcely to be wondered at, therefore, that Count Helldorf should have expressed his aims and those of his Nazi colleagues in the putsch group in terms of the baldest opportunism: *"Abspringen müssen wir alle einmal!"*—"All of us must jump off sometime!"[18] The Nazi renegades were not numerous in the conspiracy, nor were they particularly welcome; but some, notably Helldorf, with his control of the Berlin police, and SS General Arthur Nebe, Kaltenbrunner's "deputy in charge of crime prevention," who warned of the Himmler investigation plans after Stalingrad, were clearly too valuable to be ignored.

Throughout the resistance, present in many cases where another interest was the dominant one, seldom decisive but almost never completely absent, runs the thread of moral repudiation of Nazism as a movement which, whether successful or not, whether dangerous to traditions or potentially controllable, was by any ethical standard simply wrong. Such a conviction can be discerned in the personality of Stauffenberg, the Bavarian Catholic, who felt himself drawn more to the aesthetic philosophy of the Stefan George circle of Heidel-

[18] Before the People's Court, Sept. 11, 1944.

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berg than to the material interests of the German army. At its best, however, it may be found in the young Protestant minister, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who, after having visited in the United States (where he lectured for a short time at Union Theological Seminary) and having served as pastor of two German congregations in London after 1933, returned to Germany in 1935, established his own illegal seminary at Finkenwalde, Pomerania, and volunteered as an agent for opposition groups wherever he found them. Bonhoeffer was arrested in May, 1943, and killed by SS guards at Flossenburg concentration camp just before its liberation by American troops early in 1945; but his eight years of courageous activity had won him the respect of almost every element in the resistance.

The participation of Bonhoeffer and of other men of religion, for example, the three Munich Jesuit Fathers, Delp, Roesch, and Koenig, and the Confessional Church leader, Hans Asmussen, illustrates a separate problem which in itself merits future study: that of Christianity and Hitler. The churches as such were certainly not committed to resistance. The Protestant leaders were for the most part passive, while the Catholic hierarchy distributed itself over the entire span separating Vienna's Cardinal Innitzer from the courageous bishop of Berlin, now Cardinal von Preysing. What then were the factors which distinguished those priests and ministers, many of them sincere pacifists in every respect, whose repudiation of Nazism led them to sanction even assassination as a political expedient?

One last problem which still invites searching investigation, is that of the conspirators' attempts to establish an understanding with Germany's enemies and the division of opinion over what in this limited sense may be termed "western" versus "eastern" orientation. Any study of the course of these attempts must take into account a series of incidents beginning with the Kordt-Halifax interview already discussed. A year later, in August, 1939, Trott zu Solz saw both Chamberlain and Halifax in London, then spent the following three months in Washington, where his unsuccessful efforts to win an official hearing for appeals on behalf of the Beck group were seconded by former chancellor Heinrich Brüning.[19] Considering the state of resistance organization during that period, these appeals can scarcely have gone beyond urging firmness toward Hitler in the international field. By May, 1942, however, when Bonhoeffer and Hans Schönfeld met the bishop of Chichester in Sweden, the conspirators were prepared to present a list of their leaders (in-

[19] *Cf.* Alexander F. Maley in *Human Events*, Feb. 27, 1946, pp. 1 ff.

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cluding Beck, Hammerstein, Witzleben, Goerdeler, Leuschner, and Catholic trade unionist Jakob Kaiser) and to make a specific request: that the Allied leaders give explicit assurances that any action against Hitler on the part of the Germans themselves would be taken into account in the formulation of peace terms. The Bonhoeffer message was transmitted to Foreign Secretary Eden by the bishop, but no official reply was ever forthcoming.[20]

The enlisting of support within Germany was made more than ever dependent upon outside assurances of good will by the announcement in January, 1943, of the Casablanca "Unconditional Surrender" formula and by Churchill's and Eden's statements in Commons that the terms of the Atlantic Charter were not necessarily applicable to Germany. Trott's efforts to obtain official modification of those announcements took him frequently to Switzerland and Sweden in 1943 and 1944; but, according to Gisevius, even Trott's Anglophilia gave way by the summer of 1944 to the conviction that help must be sought elsewhere, which in turn led to his last gesture, the obscure visit to the Soviet embassy in Stockholm. The critical need for outside recognition had failed to overcome the obstacles to such recognition: the Allied leaders' natural fear of yielding to wishful thinking in any form, the danger to Allied unity implicit in independent dealings with a German group and the smothering effect of Nazi control over all regular channels of communication.

The problems cited above, as well as others which will emerge in the course of future investigation, give promise of contributions to the history of World War II far outrunning the purely narrative interest of the July 20 chronicle. The question of sources remains a vital one, of course; and to a great extent research on all aspects of the Hitler era, including the German resistance, must await some arrangement, such as the establishment of an international repository, for making available to scholarly examination the necessary documentary materials. But whatever the difficulties, analysis of the July 20 conspiracy offers rewarding insights into the Germans' own war experience and the essential nature of the Nazi program, as revealed in the composition, aims, and handicaps of the desperate resistance which eventually took shape even in Germany. It is the very form of this resistance which reveals most clearly the last internal stages of the Nazi debacle. National Socialism, viewed by many German conservatives in the 1920's as uncouth radicalism, accepted by the Right as a useful ally in the early 1930's and as master during the days of first diplomatic then military triumphs, was now

[20] A portion of the bishop of Chichester's story has already been published in his signed article, "The Background of the Hitler Plot," *Contemporary Review*, October, 1945.

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abandoned by most of the traditional rightist forces which had paved its road to power—not only abandoned, but attacked. For in the last analysis, those traditional forces had a vested interest in saving what could yet be saved of Germany's physical plant and established social order. The Nazis, except for the few who joined Helldorf in "jumping off," had only one remaining interest, that of their own survival and its prolongation through a few more months of a now hopeless war.

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British Diplomacy in the Light of Anglo-Spanish New World Issues, 1750-1757

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON*

THE period covered by this study, the years leading up to the Seven Years' War, has been called by one writer interested in Anglo-Spanish relations the "Seven Years' Peace."[1] During these years, while Anglo-French relations progressively deteriorated as a result of rivalry in North America, relations between Great Britain and Spain actually improved, in spite of the existence of many points of friction. Some of these were serious issues, left unsettled at that time and destined, under conditions of changed leadership in both countries, to bring on open hostilities in 1761, when Spain joined France in the last phases of the Seven Years' War.

In reviewing the specific New World issues that threatened to disrupt the Anglo-Spanish peace, it is the purpose of the present study to emphasize the consummate skill displayed by the British during the Pelham-Newcastle ministries. In a series of diplomatic moves they not only temporarily held these issues in abeyance but actually won for Great Britain Spain's moral support in 1755 in the still undeclared war with France in North America and the waters of the North Atlantic. The background for this achievement lies in the history of Anglo-Spanish relations in the decade preceding 1750.

The War of Jenkins' Ear between Great Britain and Spain that began in 1739 had arisen out of disputes over British claims to freedom from search on the high seas coupled with resentment at the treatment in the Caribbean Sea of British ships and crews accused by the Spanish *guarda costas* of attempting to smuggle goods into the Spanish islands and the Spanish Main. Fused into the War of the Austrian Succession, after the second Bourbon Family Compact was signed in 1743, the Anglo-Spanish war had been carried on, especially during the latter years, with a good deal of languor—except for the capture of Spanish ships by British fleets and privateers.[2] The truth is that Ferdinand VI,

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[1] Jean O. McLachlan, *Trade and Peace with Old Spain* (Cambridge, England, 1940), p. 144.

[2] Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739–1763* (Oxford, 1936), chaps. I-III; see also Harold W. V. Temperley's stimulating essay, "The Causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739," Royal Historical Society, *Transactions,* 3d series, III (London, 1909), 197–236.

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a weak ruler with an energetic Portuguese queen who had inherited sympathies for the English, had not been so deeply interested in the British aspect of the war as he was in the struggle in Italy against the Habsburgs. In fact, he clearly longed for an honorable peace with Great Britain that would permit him to pursue a Continental policy freed of many of the wide implications of the Family Compact.[3] When the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle terminated hostilities between Great Britain and France, the way was therefore open for the Treaty of Aquisgran, signed on October 5, 1749, and implemented the following year. Among other things accomplished, this treaty—silent on the direct issues of the Anglo-Spanish war—brought to an end the famous Asiento (Assiento) Contract.

I

The voluntary surrender of the privileges of the Asiento by the world's greatest trading nation in 1750 may surprise students of British overseas commercial activities who have noted the tenacity with which, as a rule, British trading rights have in the past been guarded and preserved in various parts of the world. What is the explanation of this renunciation?

As is well known, the Treaty of the Asiento, signed at Madrid on March 26, 1713, between the representatives of Queen Anne and those of King Philip V, provided that for a period of thirty years the English should enjoy the exclusive right of supplying the Spanish colonies of the New World with slaves—a privilege earlier enjoyed by the Portuguese and upon the accession of Philip to the Spanish throne transferred to the French in 1702. To this was soon added the privilege of sending annually a ship of five hundred tons to the fair at Portobello, as commutation for other guaranteed privileges.[4] The South Sea Company, originally organized to operate in the Pacific Ocean area but never destined to do so, became the recipient of these high concessions. Although heavily capitalized and at that time possessing £10,000,000 of government debentures, it never became a great trading company. Yet expectations were high, and, in anticipation of great profits, in 1720 it agreed to take over the public debt of Great Britain amounting to over fifty million pounds. Subsequently, the company became involved in the wild speculation that drove its stock to three hundred per cent and then up to one thousand per cent before the panic broke—on the heels of the still more spectacular panic in France in May of 1720 following the rise in value of the Law's Mississippi Company stock to two thousand and fifty per cent.

[3] George Edmundson, "Spain and Portugal, 1746–1794," *Cambridge Modern History* (London, New York, 1909), VI, 361.

[4] This is very effectively treated in McLachlan, chap. III.

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By 1733 the Asiento Contract and that of the annual ship possessed so little significance that the company was seriously considering a treaty with the crown of Spain for the surrender of these privileges or, if this could not be done advantageously, to enter into a contract "to Sett out the Tonnage of their annual Ship to any Persons either subjects of Great Britain or foreigners."[5] When the question of the right of the company to act independently of the government had been submitted to the attorney general, he gave the opinion that it could not lawfully enter into any treaty looking to the above end without special authorization of the crown.[6] Thereupon an application was made for a royal license to let or dispose of the "Assiento Trade or the Tonnage of the shipping in that Service to any person or persons."[7] To this the duke of Newcastle replied that the matter was of national concern and that "His Majesty would like information to what parties or persons and under what Terms they propose to let out or dispose of the Trade."[8]

The explanation of the anxiety of the South Sea Company to dispose of its concessions of questionable value doubtless lies first in the fact that out of its expenditures in establishing and maintaining factories within the Spanish New World possessions it was accumulating little but bad debts from private individuals to whom credit had been given and secondly that it had difficult claims against the crown of Spain. A "State or Computation of Debts owing at the Several Factories which are not supposed to be embarg'd or seiz'd" prepared in 1734—five years before the outbreak of the Anglo-Spanish war in 1739—shows that a grand total of $1,660,000 was owing the company before 1729 and after that date $1,270,000 in terms of the Spanish milled dollar or the eight reals piece.[9] The accuracy of the figures here given cannot of

[5] Minutes of the General Court, Apr. 17, 1733, Vol. 3:21. These "Minutes" are among the Additional Manuscripts (serial no. 25,545) in the British Museum. Hereafter these will be designated as follows: B.M., Add. MSS. In a recent study by George N. Nelson ("Contraband Trade under the Asiento, 1730–1739," *American Historical Review*, LI [1945], 55–67), the data presented—based upon the South Sea Company materials among the Shelburne Manuscripts in the Clements Library—would seem to indicate that the profits of the trade were at least one hundred per cent during the years under consideration. As these profits came, as Dr. Nelson emphasizes, from illicit, contraband activities engineered by an inner circle of the directorate of the company, it is not clear to what extent the stockholders themselves benefited. In fact had the latter secured substantial returns it is unlikely that there would have been any sentiment among them in favor of the surrender of the privileges.

[6] Minutes of Mar. 29, 1734, 3:58, B.M., Add. MSS.

[7] Minutes of Jan. 29, 1734/5, 3:67–8, *ibid.*

[8] Minutes of Mar. 20, 1734/5, 3:69–70, *ibid.*

[9] Minutes of Apr. 10, 1734, 3:60–2, *ibid.* At Portobello and at Panama, before 1729, $670,000 was due the company and after that date $630,000; at Havana, before 1729, $350,000 and after that date $130,000; at Vera Cruz and Mexico, before 1729, $300,000; at Cartagena, before 1729, $36,000 and after that date $130,000; at St. Iago de Cuba, before 1729, $54,000 and after that date $70,000; at Buenos Aires, before 1729, $250,000 and after that date $310,000.

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course be affirmed. The direct claims of the company against the king of Spain were also very large and the justice of them, at least in their extent, was questioned at the time and has been since that date. But, according to the auditor's account, the company's first claim—as the result of a seizure of its assets in 1718, a so-called *reprisalia* by the crown of Spain for English hostilities—amounted to $1,433,936; to this it added $1,270,312 as interest at eight per cent of the above amount for a period of ten years.[10] Its second claim by reason of the second *reprisalia* of 1727, according to accounts from Cartagena and Portobello, amounted to "upward of $300,000 of the Company's Cash Seized and Remitted to Old Spain or Employ'd for his Catholick Majesty's Service, no part of which has been restored." In 1748 the total claims of the company against the Spanish king in terms of pounds sterling amounted to £1,367,387, plus 4,950 Spanish tons "due to the Company on Annual Ships to the year 1739."[11] On the other hand, the king of Spain had huge claims against the company—based upon his right to one fourth of the total profits of the Asiento and over one fourth of those from the annual ship—that would place it really in debt to him.

The chief difficulty, perhaps, faced by the South Sea Company in the New World was that which also troubled the Royal African Company upon the Gulf of Guinea: the presence of the free trader. He not only brought the slaves to the Jamaica slave mart, where the company purchased them gladly, but he traded directly with the Spaniards against the interests of the company. To put down the free trader's activities the Spanish *guarda costas* operated at times with great vigor and beyond the limits of their proper jurisdiction. They frequently seized vessels engaged in lawful activities within the area of the Caribbean Sea, a practice which brought English ships of war upon the scene. Moreover, grave abuses grew out of the annual ship concession as well as the operation of the Asiento; some of the directors of the company seem to have greatly profited personally through these abuses and also doubtless supported and shared in the contraband activities of the free trader.[12]

[10] This was the rate of interest apparently demanded in transactions within the Spanish world and also the rate of interest paid by France for short-term advances by foreign financiers. It was equal to the rate paid by the English government early in the century but well above the rate ordinarily secured contemporaneously in Great Britain where the government was paying to the East India Company only four per cent on long-term loans.

[11] Directors' Court Minutes, Feb. 16, 1748, 19:40, B.M., Add. MSS, 25,512; see also the memorial to the duke of Bedford of Feb. 12, 1748, Company "Memorials," etc., B.M., Add. MSS. 25,661:202–3. It may be pointed out that Newcastle put the claims of the company at £800,000, while Bedford placed them at the more modest level of £500,000; even so Keene, the British ambassador at Madrid, officially demanded no more than £300,000 and was prepared to consider two thirds of this amount (McLachlan, p. 138).

[12] The student is again referred to the article by Dr. Nelson in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, LI, 55–67. See also Vera Lee Brown. "The South Sea Company and Contraband Trade," *ibid.*, XXXI (1926),

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A study of the Spanish New World commercial activities of the company from 1734 to 1739, before the outbreak of the Anglo-Spanish war, shows how trivial these were in contrast, for example, with those of the United East India Company of the same period. The South Sea Company's stock, valued at about £34,000,000 after the bursting of the "Bubble," had been divided between annuity stock and trading stock.[13] With the trading stock it had then sought to profit by the Greenland whale fisheries but failed in this as it had in the Spanish trade. In 1733, therefore, three fourths of this stock had likewise been diverted to annuity stock. Thus the South Sea Company, it will be noted, even before 1739 progressively withdrew from active promotion of highly speculative business enterprises in favor of playing the role of a conservative investment agency.

With the war brought to a close, in the subsequent peace negotiations leading to the Treaty of Aquisgran the British ministry indicated by its attitude that it was as little prepared to defend the legitimacy of all the company claims against the Spanish king and nation as it was to acknowledge the legitimacy of all the counterclaims of the Spanish crown against the company. The whole matter of these claims and counterclaims was a sticky business. But in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the rights consistently enjoyed since 1715 by the British mercantile interests that looked to Cadiz were unfortunately passed over by the British negotiators and declared forfeited as a result by the Spaniards. These British claims were however so patent that Henry Pelham and his brother, the duke of Newcastle, felt they were on solid ground in bringing pressure, on the one hand, upon the company to accept an offer of £100,000 from the Spanish crown—provided that a mutual cancellation of all claims took place involving the Asiento and the annual ship—and, on the other hand, upon Ferdinand to renew the old and perfectly legitimate British trading privileges in Spain as well as the old privilege of securing salt at Tortuga for the North Atlantic fisheries.[14] One may look in

662–78, and "Contraband Trade: A Factor in the Decline of Spain's Empire in America," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VIII (1928), 178–89.

[13] For these activities see B.M., Add. MSS, 55,558. In 1750, the year of the definite treaty of peace, the total value of the capital stock of the company was given as £27,302,203. Of this total, £13,651,099 was in so-called Old South Sea Company annuities, £9,988,318 in New South Sea Company annuities, and £3,662,784 in so-called trading stock (South Sea Company "Memorials," 4:111, *ibid.*).

[14] Pares, pp. 520–32; McLachlan, pp. 125–45; Olbes L. Fernandez, *La Paz de Aquisgran* (Pontevedra, 1926). The treaty is to be found in *European Treaties Bearing upon the History of the United States and Its Dependencies* (ed. by F. G. Davenport and Charles O. Paullin, Washington, 1937), IV, 79–80; it is also to be found in Charles Jenkinson's, *A Collection of All the Treaties of Peace, Alliance and Commerce between Great Britain and Other Powers from . . . 1648 to . . . 1783* (London, 1785), II, 410–13.

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vain in the final treaty for any reference to such issues as were involved in the British claim of free navigation of the Caribbean Sea, the Spanish demand for the return of Gibraltar (a prime objective at the time of the first and abortive Bourbon Family Compact of 1733), and the Spanish territorial pretensions to Georgia and most of South Carolina. Even the dispute over the explosive British claim to enjoy the right to cut logwood about the bays of Central America was passed over. Indeed, between 1750 and 1755, the most serious New World problem that tended to muddy the Anglo-Spanish diplomatic waters was that presented by the activities of British loggers in the area of Honduras Bay.

II

The botanical name of the tree yielding the famous dyewood is *hæmatoxylon campechianum*. The heartwood of it, in appearance a deep red and so heavy that it sinks in water, yields the precious dye still employed in the woolen and silk trade to produce a fast black or compound grey shades and earlier used also for reds and blues. The tree itself, between twenty-five to fifty feet in height, grows in isolation and not in groves and is distinguished among other native trees by its very crooked trunk and limbs and its peculiarly ribbed bark. After being felled during the dry season it was cut into lengths or blocks, each weighing some four hundred pounds; even its roots were also grubbed up and cut into sections. Sturdy Indians carried these heavy blocks on their backs to certain convenient places to await transfer to the coast. Then, with the coming of the great downpours twice a year—the rainy seasons in the spring and fall—and with the water flooding the low country for miles at a depth of three or four feet, the blocks were piled upon barges which would descend some creek or river, such as the Belize, to the flood waters and then put on ocean-going vessels—a distance from the log-cutting operations of perhaps fifty or one hundred, or, even two hundred, miles.[15] Then up the stream for the next load the barges would move, "the hardest and most laborious work of any." The men—English, Indians, and Mestizos—who engaged in these activities, were by all accounts turbulent people and given to wild dissipation. Moving as woodcutters from place to place they established temporary abodes. Frequently those living about Honduras Bay, if faced by serious threats, would flee to the Mosquito Shore where the Indians, bitterly hostile to Spaniards, would afford them and other Englishmen reasonable protection; there were also, from time to time, a few soldiers at Black River sent from Jamaica.[16]

[15] Letter of a Bristol Man, B.M., Add. MSS, 33029:152–5.

[16] The insecurity of the Honduras logwood cutters led them in 1747 to present a memorial

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As early as 1638 English buccaneers began to resort to the coasts of Yucatan both to plunder the native logwood cutters and to cut the valuable dyewood.[17] The Spaniards themselves were not drawn to settle in the swampy regions about which the trees grew and where men faced great exposure while engaged in arduous labor. But after the trees had been cut by the Indians and had been conveyed to some inlet that would accommodate seagoing ships, they had purchased the wood and carried it away to sell at a high price. This had been the practice before Englishmen from North America began to settle, in 1662, where Spaniards scorned to live. As a result of the presence of the former and the development of an interest in logwood by North American merchants and shipowners the Spaniards were gradually eliminated from the region,[18] except when they appeared to raid.

In 1670 England and Spain entered into a treaty wherein it was provided for the recognition of the *status quo* of the dominions of each as determined by possession at that time.[19] What effect, if any, did the treaty have upon the logwood regions? And what was the effect of the later Anglo-Spanish Treaty of Navigation and Commerce, which was signed in 1713 as a part of the general treaty settlement of Utrecht and which, in confirming that of 1670, did so "without prejudice to any liberty or power which the subjects of Great Britain enjoyed before, either through right, sufferance or indulgence?"[20] In other words, had Englishmen established a valid claim to these parts by effective occupation? Spaniards denied that any so-called "indulgence" to the subjects of Great Britain to resort to the logwood regions gave recognition of English claims to them. Spanish governors, in fact, even after 1713 were not inclined to show overmuch "indulgence" to the logwood cutters and those who came in ships for the dyewood: many settlers about the Bay of Campechy were taken prisoner; ships found there were confiscated, and New England and British merchants therefore protested loudly. In 1717 the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations came to their support in a representation to the king to the effect that since England was allowed by treaty to hold all

to Parke Pepper, "late Duty Major at Rattan," praying that a governor might be appointed to reside constantly at Belize (Bellise) and that some forces might be sent thither for the greater security of themselves and the trade. *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1741–1749* (London, 1931), p. 249.

[17] *Archives of British Honduras,* ed. J. A. Burdon (London, 1931), I, 3; G. H. Gutheridge, "British Honduras," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.); G. W. Bridges, *Annals of Jamaica* (London, 1828), II, 134.

[18] Harry Bernstein, *Origins of Inter-American Interest, 1700–1812* (Philadelphia, 1945), p. 16; Curtis P. Nettels, *The Money Supply of the American Colonies before 1720* (Madison, 1934), p. 97.

[19] Article VII of the Treaty of Madrid, July 18, 1670, *Archives of British Honduras,* I, 50.

[20] Treaty of Navigation and Commerce, Dec. 9, 1713, *ibid.,* I, 62.

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American territory occupied before 1670 and since subjects of the king had settled at Laguna de Términos on Yucatan before that date, his majesty had therefore a right to hold this territory and his subjects to trade there.[21] It is clear that at the time of the Treaty of 1670 English logwood cutters were settled and operating not only upon the Bay of Campechy including the Laguna de Términos but also in the region of Belize River on Honduras Bay[22]—although the issue that came before the board apparently involved rights only in the former. In fact the word "Campechy" was frequently used loosely during the earlier period by the English to cover the general area of activities of those exploiting the logwood resources.[23] That the British ministers accepted the view of the lords commissioners as to English rights is indicated by the fact that when war was declared on Spain in 1718 these claims were involved.[24] Not until 1763, however, could the latter country be prevailed upon to give legal recognition to the "Bay-men,"[25] as the English settlers were called, in agreeing in the peace treaty that should they destroy their fortifications they were not "to be disturbed or molested, under any pretext whatsoever, in their said plans of cutting, loading, and carrying away logwood."[26]

In the period under consideration the logwood settlements had disappeared from the Campechy shore of Yucatan[27] and were scattered about Honduras Bay and along the Mosquito Shore, especially on Black River, in what is now Nicaragua. It was estimated in 1715 that some fifteen hundred British subjects—mostly men who had drifted from the northern colonies

[21] This under date of September 25, 1717, is in C.O. 137:46; for a précis of the board's report see *Archives of British Honduras,* I, 64–5.

[22] The British population of Honduras in 1670 was estimated to be seven hundred (*ibid.*, I, 3); by 1705 the "River of Bullys" (Belize) had become the principal British shipping port in Yucatan (*ibid.*, I, 3–4).

[23] For example, in March 17, 1714, reference was made at a meeting of the Board of Trade to the fact that persons who had given bonds on prize goods in Jamaica "were run away to Campeche and there employed in cutting logwood." On March 25 of that year Major Howard and Captain Harler testified before the board that "about 1500 were gone to cut logwood in the Bay of Campeche, etc." *Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1714–1718* (London, 1924), pp. 7, 11. A Mr. Aylmer on the same day said, "That about 2000 men were gone from thence [Jamaica] to cut logwood at Campeche, etc." In 1720 Honduras is specifically mentioned in the Massachusetts Bay memorial relating to logwood. *Ibid., 1718–1722* (1925), p. 154. See also index of the *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1720–1721* (London, 1933), under "Campechy."

[24] Nettels, p. 97.

[25] Baymen in 1763 were more accurately those living about Honduras Bay; those living to the southward were called Moskitomen (Mosquitomen); there were also the Mosquito Indians.

[26] Article XVII of the Treaty of Paris, *Archives of British Honduras,* I, 88.

[27] On August 20, 1735, Governor Cunningham of Jamaica and a Mr. Williams told the Board of Trade that the South Sea Company, which had agreed with the Spaniards to take logwood in exchange for Negroes, had established a factory at Campechy for that purpose "which had encouraged the Spaniards to drive out the English logwood cutters . . ." The following day Cunningham informed the board "that there are now no English at Campechy, those formerly there being all carried away by the Spaniards, but that there are about 200 English settled at Honduras." *Jour. Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, 1734–1741* (1930), pp. 57, 59.

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because they could not remain easily in a settled society—were living within this area; and in 1751 that New England, New York, and Pennsylvania merchants and shipmasters were annually drawing logwood from it valued at £160,000.[28] In the year of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle a fort had been constructed on the island of Roatan (called Rattan by the English) for the protection of the settlers of the bay and of the Mosquito Shore.[29] However, as the treaty provided for a mutual restoration of conquests and as this seemed to apply to the island, it was evacuated. The settlers of Honduras Bay and the Mosquito Shore nevertheless remained and his Britannic majesty supported their right to do so. Still there was an absence of any settled form of government among the English in these places. The governor of Jamaica, it is true, was supposed to exercise some sort of supervision over the logwood settlements; in 1740 Edward Trelawny, occupying that post, had sent a certain Robert Hodgson to the Mosquito Shore to maintain friendly relations with the mixed population made up of Indians, Zambos (a blend of Indian and Negro), and whites.[30] He had also been ordered to harass the Spaniards with whom the English were then at war.

With the coming of peace Trelawny's mind was filled with plans for a regular form of government so as to encourage the establishment of planters on the mainland who could till the rich Mosquito Coast lands and produce such commodities as indigo, cocoa, and vanilla; he also saw that a settled government might bring the "adventuring merchant," who as soon as he had settled with a proper assortment of goods would lead to a stream of commerce from the adjacent "Kingdoms of Guatemala & Yucatan in spite of all the Guards."[31] In response to Trelawny's appeal, the duke of Bedford, secretary of state for the southern department, sent to Captain Hodgson a commission "to regulate and superintend the settlement upon the Mosquito Shore, which has been subsisting several years, under the protecting of Our Friends and Allies the Mosquito Indians."[32] Hodgson, however, was instructed to place himself under the direction of the governor of Jamaica who would pay his salary of five hundred pounds a year.[33] With the prospect of more settled conditions in the logwood regions, many men from Jamaica apparently began thinking of migrating there. Trelawny was therefore led to change rather abruptly his attitude toward the encouragement of planters to resort to the

[28] *Ibid., 1709–1714/5,* p. 588; *Archives of British Honduras,* I, 77. In 1751 logwood was selling at £20 a ton. *Ibid.*

[29] Governor Trelawny of Jamaica to the Board of Trade, Oct. 7, 1748, C.O. 137.25, folio 39.

[30] Pares, pp. 98–99.

[31] Trelawny to the Board of Trade, Oct. 7, 1748, C.O. 137:25, folio 39.

[32] Bedford to Hodgson, Oct. 5, 1749, Shelburne Papers, 74:153–6 (Clements Library).

[33] Bedford to Trelawny, Oct. 5, 1749, *ibid.,* 74:159–160.

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continent. In 1750 he spoke out against the establishment of plantations worked by slaves on the Mosquito Shore; he also expressed fear that a few rich men with many slaves would come to control great tracts of land there and that Jamaica would face depopulation.[34] While it appears that a number of planters such as the wealthy slaveowner and capitalist William Pitts (Pitt), who was operating about Black River in the early 1740's on the Mosquito Coast, came to settle—some of them hailing from New York[35]—yet the harvesting of logwood absorbed the energies of most of the English in that region.

Unhappily, the presence of Captain Hodgson with his royal commission and a small body of troops was not sufficient to ensure the safety of English settlers or ships from the occasional thrusts of the Spanish *guarda costas*. For example, the *Eagle* of Boston, Captain Gasney, on the way to Curaçao in 1750 was caught in a storm and blown into the region of Roatan Island. The vessel while still on the high sea was overpowered by a Spanish fleet under Don Pablo and plundered of all its valuables.[36] In 1751 four Spanish ships sailed into Honduras Bay where thirty-three English vessels, mostly colonial, were anchored and apparently occupied with loading logwood. Of these, two Boston vessels, one from Rhode Island, and a fourth were captured by the *guarda costas;* but, according to the report brought to England by one Richard Horton of the *Prescilla,* "brave Captains Belchier, Littlejohn and Griffin manned their ships out of the fleet and defended it until January 9," when the Spanish vessels, having news of the appearance of a twenty-gun British ship, slipped away.[37]

The attack upon the logwood fleet in time of peace seems to have come as the result of orders sent in 1750 from Spain by the marques de la Enseñada, Minister of State for the Marine and the Indies, to Heredia, captain-general of Nicaragua, and doubtless to other officials, to uproot the English settlements and drive out the settlers.[38] Enseñada later sent other orders, even more urgent, for the destruction of the English settlements, and apparently these were given without the royal authority. As a result, those dwelling about Honduras Bay received a double visitation in 1754. Cutting a path through the forest from the province of Peten in Guatemala, a Spanish force suddenly descended early in May upon one of the settlements, seized some eighty slaves and barricaded itself in the house of a planter while a small English force shot at it across the river. The next day two hundred of the English advanced

[34] Trelawny to the Board of Trade, Apr. 14, 1750, C.O. 137:25, folios 128–9.
[35] Letter of a Bristol Man, B.M., Add. MSS, 33029:152–5.
[36] *The Scots Magazine,* May, 1752.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] Hodgson to Halifax, Feb. 22, 1752, C.O. 137:48. For a broad treatment of the activities of Enseñada see M. J. de Aranda, *El Marques de la Enseñada* (Madrid, 1898).

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to the attack but the Spaniards had by that time left with their booty.[39] In August, warning was sent from Jamaica to William Pitts of the sailing of a fleet from Havana which was destined to go to Campechy and Yucatan to take forces on board and then proceed to Honduras Bay to carry out the plan of driving out the Englishmen. Pitts hurried a dispatch boat from the Mosquito Shore with the news to the settlers about Belize, some five hundred of whom retired precipitately by boat to Black River with whatever of their possessions they could easily gather together. A few days later, after sending some of their boats back to Honduras Bay to reconnoiter and finding no Spaniards, the baymen turned bitterly upon Pitts, accusing him with "high words" of frightening them from their logwood cutting so that he would be able to sell his own supply of wood at a higher price.

Determined now to return in a body, the loggers set out in their open boats convoyed by five colonial vessels. But when they entered the bay they found that the warning sent by Pitts was all too true. Before them were thirty Spanish sails. They were soon under attack, and a New York vessel that tried to rescue one from Antigua was captured. While the fighting was going on, the baymen beheld another Spanish fleet, twice the size of the first and including a large warship. As a result they again retreated in the greatest haste to Black River and "concluded they had lost the Bay for Good."[40] But their unhappy predictions were not fulfilled. The *guarda costas,* after burning the huts of the loggers at the mouth of the Belize and some of the logwood, retired from Honduras, so little tempting to the temperament and easygoing life of the Spaniards. When they left they perhaps had the idea that at last they had got rid of the intruding English settlers. But such was not the case, for, after some delay, back came the baymen from the Black River to engage once more in their customary activities.

III

The undeclared Anglo-Spanish hostilities in the region of Honduras Bay described above, exerted much less influence on the relations of the two nations in Europe for the period under consideration than one might expect. The explanation for this doubtless lies in the fact that the Spanish crown, on the one hand, although seeking to hold its own, was not interested in aggressive measures in the New World, while the British crown, on the other hand, was anxious to nurture Spanish good will in face of the really ominous Anglo-French crisis resulting from French activity in North America and in the

[39] Letter from Bristol, B.M., Add. MSS, 33029:152–5.
[40] *Ibid.*

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West Indies after 1749. With the mounting tension between Britain and France, the government of each made ever greater efforts to win the support of Spain. One may venture the opinion that had the comte de Vaulgrenant, French ambassador at Madrid from 1748 to 1752, or his successor, the duc de Duras, who remained until his recall in 1755, been a man of ability greatly transcending that of the British ambassador, Sir Benjamin Keene, France might possibly have revived the Family Compact before 1759 with unpredictable consequences, in spite of the deep reluctance of both King Ferdinand and Queen Maria Barbara of Braganza to be again involved in war. But neither Frenchman was the equal of Keene, who left a record of high efficiency, although he failed to achieve all his objectives in the face of forces over which he had little or no control.

Keene first appeared in Madrid in 1723 as agent for the South Sea Company;[41] thereafter he became British consul and then, in 1727, British minister plenipotentiary, at which post he remained until the outbreak of the Anglo-Spanish war of 1739. He returned to England following the failure of the Convention of the Pardo, which he had negotiated in an effort to avert hostilities. During the latter years of the War of the Austrian Succession he represented his government at Lisbon and in 1749 most reluctantly returned to Spain and continued there—in spite of poor health and a desire to retire—until his death in 1757. A master of the Spanish language and a man of commanding appearance and an easygoing temperament that fitted in with the way of life of the Spaniards, Keene proved to be an extraordinarily difficult obstacle for the French to overcome in their desire to revive close relations with Spain. They did have a friend, however, in the marques of Enseñada, who was in charge of two of the most important departments of the government. Unhappily for them his pro-French influences were offset by the minister of foreign affairs, Don Carvajal y Lancaster, descended from John of Gaunt and rather proud of his English connections. When Carvajal died in the spring of 1754, it seemed that Enseñada would at last triumph and carry through his plans for a renewal of the alliance with France. Keene, however, suggested to some of the powerful court officials who had favored Carvajal's policies the desirability of recalling from London the Spanish ambassador, Don Ricardo Wall, who had gone to London in 1748 to arrange a separate peace with Great Britain and who, while he had failed in his par-

[41] For a very careful appraisement of the work of Keene see the article by Sir Richard Lodge, "Sir Benjamin Keene, K.B.: A Study in Anglo-Spanish Relations in the Earlier Part of the Eighteenth Century," Royal Hist. Soc., *Trans.*, 4th series (London, 1932), XV, 1–43, see also by the same author *The Private Correspondence of Sir Benjamin Keene, K. B.* (Cambridge, England, 1933).

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ticular objectives, had remained there and had won the respect of Newcastle and other ministers. This was done. To William Pitt the passing of Carvajal and the appointment of General Wall to his post was a movement into the unknown with serious possibilities. Writing from Bath to the duke of Newcastle, soon after the news of Wall's recall to Spain to assume his new duties, he declared:

> I am extremely sorry for the death of Mr. Carvajal. His dispositions were try'd and known. Those of General Wall, I expect everything that is right from, but the thing is yet to be try'd. He has it in his power to be an instrument of much good, or consequently, mischief, from the great knowledge of the inside of this Kingdom which he carries with him. The Commercial views he is known to have taken up, or been confirm'd in here, may operate either way, for us or against us, as they are justly or erroneously form'd.[42]

Wall, a former Irish Jacobite who was born in France and had obtained naturalization in Spain and who was in truth loyal to the interests of the country of his adoption, proved to be everything that Keene had hoped he would be in offsetting Enseñada's moves. As has been noted, the latter at this time sent orders, in the king's name but without royal permission, to the viceroy of New Spain and to the governors of the provinces within the viceroyalty that were concerned, to attack the English navigating to and from the Mosquito Shore in Central America and to break up the logwood settlements there and north of it.[43] He was directly responsible for the events that had taken place in the region of the Bay of Honduras. When a copy of his hostile orders was given to Newcastle, the latter proceeded to write to Wall in terms of the utmost intimacy. As it throws light on the friendly relations of these ministers who guided foreign policy in the two countries and is brief, it may be given in full with its curious mixture of English and French:

> My Dear Wall:
>
> I am frightened out of my Wits at these *Ensenada*-Orders And the *Voyes de fait* which are probably begun. Now *Si Je connois* Knowles [Governor of Jamaica, with a commission to supervise the Mosquito Shore], *Il auroit deja tâché de repousser Force par Force—Pour l'Amour de Dieu, où serons nous? Vous et Moi, nous en serons certainment les Victimes.* How often have I beg'd that the Affair

[42] Pitt to Newcastle, Apr. 22, 1754, B.M., Add. MSS, 32735:143. For Carvajal's public services see M. Ferrandis Torres', "Don Josef de Carvajal," *Revista Historica* (Valladolid, 1924).

[43] It had seemed at one time to Keene that the problem that had arisen out of the logwood interests of the British on the Mosquito Shore and the Gulf of Honduras would be settled harmoniously by the formation of an Anglo-Spanish company "for the cutting and vending of Log Wood." He claimed that Enseñada had favored the project and had presented it to him but then later took up "with the project of Dⁿ Juan de Isla, which carried violences and the interruption of Harmony between the two Nations." Keene to Robinson, July 31, 1754, B.M. Add. MSS, 32849:441–452.

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of Logwood might be settled—We are entitled to that Privilege by the Word & Meaning of the Treaty of Utrecht. [The expression] Indulgence was put in [the Treaty] on purpose to comprehend it. Let it not be said that Gen[l] Wall has Either not Inclination or not Power enough, to prevent these things. If a stop is not put to them, without Delay, I know, what must be the Consequence—Our Enemies will tell the rest with Pleasure.

You have good Sense Enough to take this Letter in the sincere friendly Sense in which It is meant by

Your Ever Affectionate Friend & most faithful humble servant

HOLLES NEWCASTLE[44]

When the attention of Ambassador Keene at Madrid likewise had been called to the hostile orders sent out by Enseñada and long before reports had reached either Spain or England of the hostilities previously described, he had also set to work. Writing to Sir Thomas Robinson on July 31, 1754, Keene declared:

> I had two Objects to consider, which in effect, were but one. To procure the immediate Revocation of the Hostile Orders sent to America and to destroy the Author of them. The first could not be procured with Security, without the complete Execution of the latter.[45]

It is well to point out that Enseñada's deep hostility toward the British had long been apparent to Keene. Referring to discussions between the two men over questions in dispute, the ambassador later charged that the Spanish minister had been accustomed to make his complaints "in the most inveterate Colours."[46] Securing a conference at this critical juncture with Minister Wall and the duke of Huescar, both opponents of Enseñada and his pro-French policies, the ambassador thereupon not only made clear that Great Britain and Spain were moving into a state of war as the result of activities of the minister of the Indies but placed in their hands an exact copy of the instructions given by the commander of the Havana squadron to the captains of a frigate and a *xebec*. By these it was made clear that by command of the viceroy of New Spain they were to join the forces gathered by the governor of Yucatan in order to *"exterminate"* the English and their logwood establishments. Keene in the interview not only charged Enseñada with the responsibility for the instructions but proceeded to give the history of the negotiations between the two nations over the logwood activities of the English and called to mind the earlier suggestions put forth by Enseñada himself that an Anglo-Spanish company be formed for the harmonious solution of the prob-

[44] Newcastle to Wall, July 4, 1754, *ibid.*, 32849.
[45] *Ibid.*, 32849:441–452.
[46] Robinson to Albemarle, Aug. 15, 1754, Shelburne Papers, 36:24.

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lem. He also availed himself of the opportunity to describe in detail the pro-French activities of the minister of the Indies and particularly his relations with the duc de Duras.[47]

Wall, already committed to the idea of getting rid of his rival and now furnished with the material for doing so, thereupon appeared before Ferdinand and Barbara and observed that all the other European powers except France wished "His Greatness, Lustre & Independency. It was their Interest to do so, as much as it was that of France, to desire the Oppression and Abasement of the Spanish Monarchy." He then made clear the part that Enseñada was playing by usurping power to bring about this abasement.[48] As a result of this exposure, together with the discovery that Enseñada was carrying on secret negotiations with the court of Naples and was also as secretly intriguing with the Jesuits of Paraguay—in violation of the terms of a treaty recently signed with Portugal—the irate Spanish king ordered the minister under arrest.[49] According to the earl of Albemarle, writing from Paris, the French were "thunderstruck" at the news of the fall of the powerful Spanish minister; and Duras, himself deeply implicated in his fall, was so fearful lest his dispatches to Paris relating to the incident fall into the hands of the Spaniards that he wrote them in cipher.[50]

In an attempt to remove from the mind of the Spanish king the prejudices formed against France, Duras later in the year suggested shrewdly that Ferdinand be called upon by both the French and the English to mediate all outstanding disputes between them. But Keene was not to be caught. Writing to Robinson he declared:

> It would be very improper in His M^y^ to charge himself with it [the meditation], whilst he has Disputes of his own to adjust with the British Nation of the same Nature; Or to expect from His Britannick Majesty, that in such Circumstances (let the King's Idea of the Justice & Impartiality of the King of Spain, be ever so extensive) His Britannick Majesty would consent to leave these difficult and important Points to the Decision of a Prince of the House of Bourbon.[51]

Although with the disappearance of Enseñada the logwood controversy momentarily slipped into the background and the loggers were left in com-

[47] Keene to Robinson, July 31, 1754, B.M., Add. MSS, 32849:452.

[48] *Ibid.* For King Ferdinand VI and Queen Barbara see William Coxe, *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon, from the Accession of Philip the Fifth to the Death of Charles the Third: 1700 to 1788* (London, 1813), III, 67–231, and Rines A. Garcia, *Fernando VI y Doña Barbara de Braganza* (Madrid, 1917).

[49] Richard Waddington, *Louis XV et le renversement des alliances* (Paris, 1896), pp. 115–16.

[50] Albemarle to Robinson, Aug. 21, 1754, Shelburne Papers, 36:26.

[51] Keene to Robinson, Oct. 25, 1754, B.M., Add. MSS, 37851:110.

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parative peace with the revocation of the late minister's orders,[52] there were other points in dispute between the two countries, and General Wall was not in a position to resolve them. One had to do with the settling of claims against Spain for the seizure of English ships after the cessation of hostilities in the late war. Writing to Keene in November, Robinson stressed the "cavilling disposition" of the new Spanish minister of the Indies, Don Julian Arriaga, and indicated that if the British ambassador had on this point met with so many difficulties and delays there seemed to be very little hope that General Wall would be sufficiently at his ease to enter in a friendly manner upon "other American Points" until Arriaga had followed Enseñada into retirement and the confessor of the king, the Jesuit Father Ravago, a strong supporter of the late minister, had been sent back to his convent. Keene was therefore instructed to take every occasion

> to excite M. Wall in a Point so essential to his own safety & the Friendship between the two Crowns & so agreeable to the general Wishes of the Spanish merchants, who seeing the Insufficiency of M. Ariaga regret the self Denial of M. Wall in having declined the Department of the Indies.[53]

But General Wall was not in a position to disturb his colleague Arriaga. In fact, it appears that between the four Spanish secretaries of state there was little communication and less of the spirit of co-operation. Each acted independently in his own sphere and could not be easily reached—unless he had offended the king; moreover, the Spanish court was torn by factions.[54]

When early in 1755 the news at last reached Newcastle about events along

[52] On January 5, 1755, Don Arriaga, the new minister for the Indies, ordered the return of the captured British logwood ships; at this same period the baymen returned to Belize and by 1757 nine ships were kept busy carrying logwood from this logwood area to New York. *Archives of British Honduras,* I, 80, 85.

[53] Robinson to Keene, Nov. 4, 1754, B.M., Add. MSS, 37851:132. In July Keene had written about the favorable shaping of the Spanish ministry. He then went on to say: "Poor Wall is tired to Death and heartily regrets the change of his Situation. He desires me to assure You we will work to stop the Mouth of the Beckfords at the Meeting of Parliament as to the Inexecuation [*sic*] of orders for Restitution [of ships and cargoes] and of clearing up such Pretensions upon other captures as are not yet decided. Logwood & Mosquito will demand more time." *Ibid.,* 32849:472. In spite however of Keene's inability to unseat Arriaga he did secure the dismissal of the king's confessor, Ravago. "This essential alteration," wrote Keene to Robinson, on October 15, 1755, "has been wrought in great secret, and with the greatest ability. The manner of doing it has been by laying before his catholic majesty, the materials collected against the confessor at the time of the attack against Ensenada; but now increased with many proofs furnished by the court of Portugal. From the consideration whereof, his catholic majesty of his own accord took his resolution to dismiss him; and named a very mild and worthy person in his stead." Coxe, III, 185–86.

[54] Duras in a dispatch gives us an insight into the Spanish court of this period: *"Quatre secrétaires d'État gouvernent l'Espagne et n'ont entre eux aucune communication; . . . l'autorité se trouve partagée à la cour entre la reine et le père confesseur. Le roi, incertain entre deux personnes qui lui sont également chères, ne peut se décider. Il en résulte un chaos impénétrable, sur lequel il est bien difficile d'établir des conjectures solides,"* Waddington, pp. 118–19.

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Honduras Bay—the driving out and the plundering of the baymen and the capture of ships, all on orders from Enseñada—he wrote to Wall in the same tone of intimacy that characterizes the letter quoted above, stressing the efforts they both had been making in the direction of a solid friendship between the two nations. Coming to the point, he said:

> But, My Dear Friend, You must find some Way to set right This Ensenada Trick in the Bay of Honduras; or, otherwise, We shall not be trusted, & believ'd here; and Your Credit will suffer Every where. Your Enemies & Ours, (which, thank God, are the Same,) give out that Ensenada has still [in spite of his fall from power] a strong Party at Court and that He will soon return in Triumph. I dont believe one word of it.[55]

In reply General Wall sought to minimize the incidents on the bay, insisting that the men driven out were fugitives from justice of all nations though admitting that a majority were from the British dominions, *"que la misere et le crime a reunis, pour se soustraire à la rigueur de leurs maistres, de leur créanciers et de la justice, sans loix et sans chefs et abandonés à leurs caprices."*[56] Thus, while no agreement had been reached and while the conflicting claims in the logwood regions would ultimately be used as a principal pretext to involve Spain and Great Britain in renewed hostilities, peace for the next six years reigned in Honduras Bay and along the Mosquito Shore.[57]

By March, 1755, everything was moving rapidly in the direction of open warfare between Great Britain and France in the New World. To the British ministers it was therefore of the utmost importance to keep Spain in an attitude of neutrality, if nothing more. On the other hand, Duras was working desperately to revive the *entente* between that country and France. But Wall stood between him and the attainment of his goal. Writing to the French minister the ambassador declared:

> *Le ministre d'Etat (Wall) est livré à nos ennemis. Mais sa légèreté et son audace à se montrer partisan aussi zélé d'une cour étrangère peuvent nous en délivrer. Il ne s'arrètera pas qu'il soit venu à bout de lier sa cour intimement avec celle de Londres.*[58]

In order to offset the activities of Duras, who was spending lavishly to

[55] Newcastle to Wall, Jan. 26, 1755, B.M., Add. MSS. The first part of the letter was in French; Newcastle then dropped back into English.

[56] Wall to Newcastle, Mar. 5, 1755, *ibid.*, 32853:115–9.

[57] The Dutch minister, Wassenær, at Madrid in March sent a reassuring letter to The Hague that the Spanish court was peacefully inclined. He based his conclusions upon repeated conversations with General Wall and he mentioned the fact that the latter was trying to balance English complaints against Spanish complaints "so that mutual satisfaction may be made." Enclosure in Colonel Yorke's letter from The Hague of Apr. 1, 1755, *ibid.*, 32854:9.

[58] Duras to Rouillé, Jan. 7, 1755, Waddington, p. 118.

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secure his objectives,[59] Robinson now sent to Keene a group of carefully drawn papers, setting forth the British case respecting the North American disputes with France, to be presented to his catholic majesty.[60] In an accompanying letter the Secretary of State said:

> The King is persuaded, that your Exc^{y} will make the most prudent Use of these ample Communications at the Court of Madrid, & will particularly point out to M^{or} Wall the Dangers which the immense Claims of France in America threaten the Rights & settlements of the Spaniards themselves, as those Claims, & Pretensions under Colour of M^{or} de la Salle's Discoveries, may extend as far on the Western, as on the Eastern side of the Missisipe & embrase all Mexico itself, a consideration so alarming, that the bare mention of it, is surely sufficient to excite the utmost jealousy in the Court of Spain, and to show to all Europe, that the Pretensions of France are circumscribed by no Line or Limits whatsoever.[61]

Furthermore, in a separate communication, Robinson sent to Keene papers relating to the disgraceful affair of the Spanish cargo ship *St. Joseph and St. Helena.* This incident helps to shed so much light upon Anglo-Spanish relations in the New World at this period that it deserves more than passing comment.

IV

The *St. Joseph and St. Helena* with a cargo valued at four hundred thousand Spanish dollars left Havana in October, 1752, for Spain but sprang a leak. In seeking a North American port to refit, the vessel was picked up by the *Susanna,* Captain Simpson, of New London, Connecticut, and brought into that port by his pilot, who sought to wreck the ship on the reefs outside the harbor and partially succeeded. The valuable cargo of gold, silver, indigo, sarsaparilla, and balsam was then transferred to shore, while the inhabitants went wild with excitement and everyone sought to profit by the unhappy condition of the vessel and its crew—with thievery and admiralty condemnation proceedings bidding fair to leave the owners of the ship and cargo nothing. The admiralty court awarded Simpson outrageous salvage of twenty-three thousand pieces of eight; a Henry Lane of New York, hired by the supercargo of the Spanish ship, Joseph Miguel de San Juan, to protect the interests of its owners, absconded with four chests of silver; the places where the cargo was kept were broken open and plundered. San Juan, after being a helpless spectator of this travesty of decency, finally left New London, but not until after he had informed the Connecticut authorities that the matter would be trans-

[59] *Ibid.,* p. 118.
[60] Copies of these papers are in B.M., Add. MSS, 32853.
[61] Robinson to Keene, Mar. 11, 1755, *ibid.,* 32853:183.

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ferred to the High Court of Admiralty in London, where he knew justice would be done and the colony compelled to pay all damages. Governor Roger Wolcott—accused without proper evidence of being a beneficiary in this looting—denounced the whole thing as "an atrocious crime."[62] The matter dragged along. In 1753 the Spanish chargé in London then protested the salvage award and in 1754 the British government itself interfered when Robinson wrote in June to the governor, now Thomas Fitch, commanding him in the name of the king to see that the cargo was completely restored to its owners; also, a British warship, the *Triton,* Captain Whitwell, was sent to New London to convoy to Cadiz the *Nebuchadnezzar,* sent by the owners to take on what remained of the cargo of the *St. Joseph.*[63]

Robinson, in his above-mentioned communication with Keene about the affair, also sent the ambassador a copy of a letter from the captain of the *Triton* and requested him to assure the Spanish government that proper prosecutions would be started in the Connecticut courts for the recovery of what had disappeared from the cargo; in addition he was to stress the obedience shown by Connecticut to his majesty's orders and the promising assurances that a Mr. Brislaw, employed by the owners of the Spanish ship to care for their interests in England, had been able to give to the Spanish chargé, Abreu.[64]

But things did not move along as favorably as Robinson hoped in the matter of the *St. Joseph.* When the owners, after the arrival of the *Nebuchadnezzar* at Cadiz, reported that most of their treasure had been "detained within Connecticut," the Secretary of State sent a sharp reminder to Governor Fitch that it was the king's intention that *entire* restitution should be made to the owners; for this purpose, he added, another British ship of war had been ordered to New London.[65] However, when the *Syren* arrived at New London, there was nothing to convey to Spain, and Fitch therefore in the spring of 1756 endeavored to clear the colony's good name in a letter to Henry Fox, who had taken Robinson's place.[66] In 1758 the matter was still the concern of the British government. The Connecticut London agent, Jared Ingersoll, wrote in September of that year for depositions, and in October Governor Fitch wrote to Secretary of State Pitt that he was sending to Ingersoll additional papers bearing upon the affair; these, he hoped, would clear the colony

[62] Connecticut Historical Society, *Collections,* XVI (1916), 423.
[63] For this episode see the author's *Jared Ingersoll: A Study of American Loyalism in Relation to British Colonial Government* (New Haven, 1920), pp. 61–68.
[64] Robinson to Keene, Mar. 11, 1755, B.M., Add. MSS, 32853:187.
[65] Robinson to Fitch, Nov. 3, 1755, Conn. Hist. Soc., *Coll.,* I (1860), 273–74.
[66] *Ibid.,* I, 298–99.

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of negligence.[67] However, it is not clear that the owners of the Spanish ship ever received reimbursement for their losses. Pitt, now in control, was fully occupied with the waging of war.

V

In spite of the American disputes, the cordial relations that had developed between the courts of Great Britain and Spain continued. This is indicated by the fact that in 1755 the Spanish chargé in London, Abreu, was apparently given very confidential information regarding the purposes of Boscawen's expedition into North American waters; he wrote to Wall that the vice-admiral was sailing "to prevent the Landing of French Troops sent thither." Abreu, after receiving Wall's reply, called upon Newcastle to make clear that the Spanish minister "entirely approv'd that Measure."[68] Before leaving the duke, the Spaniard also took the occasion "to extol His Maj$^{ty's}$ Prudence in having hitherto confin'd the War to N° America."[69] Further confirmation of the moral support of Spain came to the British after the news reached Europe of Boscawen's attack. Duras, having obtained an audience with the Spanish king and queen, openly and in violent language denounced Wall to them and dramatically appealed for Spanish support of their kinsmen, the French Bourbons.[70] The reply was a polite refusal. The French ambassador and also French policy at Madrid had failed. On August 13, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rouillé, wrote icily to Duras: *"Il me semble que vous n'avez qu'un parti à prendre, qui est de demander votre retour comme l'avant sollicité depuis longtemps."*[71] Significantly, while the duc de Duras was having his fruitless interview with King Ferdinand, Keene spent three hours in conversation with General Wall and the duke of Huescar, who had now become the duke of Alva, in further elucidating the nature of the Anglo-French crisis in North America. Newcastle was therefore able to write in August:

[67] Conn. Hist. Soc., *Coll.*, XVII (1918), 352, 358. In justice to the Connecticut government, it may be pointed out that none of the officials seems to have profited by the scandalous conduct both of the vice-admiralty court, presided over by Lewis Morris of New York, and of private individuals. In the affair of the *Peggy*, Captain Haddon, that committed acts of violence in 1756 against a Spanish ship owned by Don Felique D'Frances, the Connecticut authorities certainly acted vigorously against Haddon when notified of his crime by the British government. When the *Peggy* arrived in New London in 1757 she was seized by the sheriff and in 1758 Fitch was able to notify Pitt that satisfaction had been given to the Spanish agents. *Ibid.*, I, 313, 332. Years later, in the case of a Spanish ship loaded with sugar and money that put into New London in 1771 after a storm had carried away her masts, care was taken of the interests of the owners. It happened that H.M.S. *Beaver* was riding at anchor then in the port; her carpenters condemned the vessel as unseaworthy; the supercargo thereupon purchased another vessel, in which the sugar and money were conveyed to Cadiz. *Pennsylvania Journal*, Nov. 14, 1771.

[68] Newcastle to Holderness, July 18, 1755, B.M., Add. MSS, 32857:182–3.

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] This address is to be found in Archives des Affaires Étrangeres, Espagne, 518:104–6.

[71] Rouillé to Duras, Aug. 13, 1755, Waddington, p. 123.

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As to our War, our Friend Wall does most astonishingly well; They have declared in Form, that the King of Spain will adhere to His Friendship with us, the Queen of Hungary, and the King of Sardinia. *Wall* says, That what Boscawen did in America, was the *Suite* of Hostilities begun there *by the French;* And, that the Repair [by the French in violation of the Treaty of Utrecht and also that of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle] of the Fortifications of Dunkirk authorized any Thing That [Admiral] Hawke may do here.[72]

In the same month he informed Keene that the latter could confide to Wall the secret that the British government was making an effort to obtain even from the king of Prussia the promise to remain tranquil in the Anglo-French war.

Thus the prestige of the British government mounted rather than waned at Madrid during the crucial years when the leading powers of Europe were determining the part each would play in a war that the French had warned would not be permitted to remain simply a North American war and that Frederick of Prussia was destined to bring to most of Europe. Although the Abbé de Bernis had been appointed to take over the post left vacant by Duras' hurried departure, he did not go to Spain. Only the secretary of the embassy, Abbé Frieschmann, represented French interests in the Spanish capital, and he was without influence. In fact, Spain was destined throughout the remainder of the life of Ferdinand to observe toward Great Britain an attitude of neutrality—in fact almost benevolent neutrality—thanks to the efforts of the duke of Newcastle and of Sir Benjamin Keene and to the spirit of cooperation of the most influential of the Spanish king's ministers at the time, General Ricardo Wall, who later, it is true, became critical of British policy under Pitt.

The pillars of the "Seven Years' Peace," however, disappeared one after the other. Newcastle late in 1756 gave place to Pitt, who had no friends in the Spanish court; the following fall Keene passed away at Madrid; in August, 1758, Queen Barbara also passed away, leaving Ferdinand a mental, if not a physical, wreck, who lingered on until the following August when he was succeeded by Charles III. The latter pardoned Enseñada, without placing him again in power, and accepted the resignation of Keene's old friend, the duke of Alva, without disgracing him. As for General Wall, while retaining his post as minister of foreign affairs, he was no longer free to carry out his own policies as he had been under Ferdinand. Slowly but surely he reoriented himself so that by 1761 he was prepared to support, but without great enthusiasm, Charles's Bourbon Family Compact and, with as little enthusiasm, to

[72] Newcastle to Harrington, Aug. 30, 1755, B.M., Add. MSS, 32858:352–3.

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give to Lord Bristol, Keene's successor at Madrid, his papers of dismissal which signalized the outbreak of hostilities. While no one can say with assurance that had those chiefly responsible for foreign policy in Great Britain and Spain in 1755 been still responsible for it in 1761 war would not have taken place, yet one may suggest that at least the New World issues dividing the two nations were far less acute in 1761 than they were in 1755 when the government of France sought unsuccessfully to revive the Franco-Spanish alliance.

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The Problem of Bread and the French Revolution at Bordeaux

RICHARD MUNTHE BRACE*

IN France throughout the eighteenth century, the city of Bordeaux experienced a progressive commercial development. Among the assets contributing to this growth were excellent harbor facilities and the fortunate location for trade with the West Indies. In addition, the vines of St. Emilion, the Médoc, Langon, and surrounding regions produced vintages for which there was great demand. The *familles de commerce* established large estates and, later in the century, diversified their holdings by investing in the incipient industries of the southwest region. While this practice seemed to be a reasoned hedge against commercially destructive wars with other maritime states, it tended to concentrate wealth in the hands of the mercantile interests.

Though the local government taxed capital to alleviate the plight of the working population during periods of unemployment and high bread prices,[1] more often it was reinvested in the port of Bordeaux, or in industry. Perhaps this evident wealth led Arthur Young to record the prosperity of that city.[2] By "city" Young doubtless meant the physical plant including the harbor, and those persons benefiting from mercantile prominence. Surely the oft-quoted English observer did not imply that the worker in the shipyard, the rope factory, or the tannery was prosperous. Nor could he have included in his statement the peasant of Guienne who "languished in torpor and misery."[3] The contrast between the condition of the *noblesse de commerce* and that of the workers and peasantry need not be labored.[4]

Nevertheless, Young was essentially correct in his appraisal. By 1787 Bordeaux had outdistanced the other ports of France and considered herself

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[1] Joseph Benzacar, "Le pain à Bordeaux (XVIII^e siècle)," *Revue économique de Bordeaux*, XV (1905), 8, notes that from August 23, 1783, until the Revolution bread was not sold in Bordeaux at its real price. The price was depressed by subsidies paid to the bakers.

[2] Arthur Young, *Travels in France during the Years 1787, 1788, 1789*, ed. by M. Betham-Edwards (London, 1913), pp. 66–70, for observations on Bordeaux.

[3] Marcel Marion, "Etat des classes rurales au XVIII^e siècle dans la généralité de Bordeaux," *Revue des études historiques*, LXVIII (1902), 451, for the quotation, and 110, 477.

[4] Henri Sée, *Esquisse d'une histoire du régime agraire en Europe aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles* (Paris, 1921), pp. 49–50, for France in general, and p. 18, citing J. Loutchisky, *L'état des classes agricoles en France à la veille de la Révolution* (Paris, 1916), pp. 15 ff., for Bordeaux in particular; Marion, in *Rev. des études hist.*, 477.

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the second city of the realm. Ships from her quays plied the seven seas, and domination of the profitable trade with the Antilles—particularly Martinique and Saint Domingue—was firmly secured.[5] Moreover, during the eighteenth century the Bordelais exported an ever-increasing amount of wine;[6] and after 1785 they entered the lucrative slave trade.[7] That Bordeaux was a city of *"luxe scandaleux"* is attested by further evidence. Her wealth was reflected in the creation of the Bordeaux Academy of Letters, Science, and Arts (1712); it was apparent in the public works program of Intendant Tourny (1743–1758); and finally the Grand Theater, planned by the architect Louis and opened in 1780, brilliantly symbolized the continuing interest of the *noblesse de commerce* in the artistic life of *their* city.

In contrast with the splendor of the mercantile classes was the poverty of the workers in Bordeaux's embryonic factories and the peasants in the vineyards. During prosperous periods these proletarians shared in some small degree the affluence of those who exploited them. But in times of economic dislocation the people were inadequately prepared to maintain a decent standard of living.

Subsistence at any level among the peasantry and industrial proletariat of eighteenth century France was largely dependent on bread. Bread was used as a foundation for *la soupe,* the basic dietary item of the masses, often consumed thrice daily in the provinces.[8] Its importance was so great that harvests, heavy flour exportation, interruption of commerce by war, as well as prices and subsidies, were carefully watched.[9] The workers' constant clamor for "cheap bread" during the nineteenth century appears honestly inherited from the eighteenth.

Throughout France fear of famine was ever present among the underprivileged. Sée, in reporting agricultural conditions for the country as a whole, cites fourteen years of poor yield between 1725 and 1789.[10] Since inadequate transportation prevented nationalization of the wheat market, more pertinent to the area under consideration is the fact that in the period 1708–1789 the *généralité* of Bordeaux experienced thirty-three bad harvests.[11] Furthermore, scarcity was induced in years of good return by the mercantile practice of

[5] Théophile Malvezin, *Histoire du commerce de Bordeaux depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Bordeaux, 1892), III, 203–205, for some statistics.

[6] Aurélien Vivie, *Histoire de la terreur à Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1877), I, 4, places wine exportation from the city at 120,000 tons annually during the last years of the reign of Louis XVI.

[7] Malvezin, III, 209.

[8] Camille E. Labrousse, *Esquisse du mouvement des prix et des revenues en France au* XVIII[e] *siècle* (Paris, 1933), II, 575.

[9] Sée, p. 50.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 49.

[11] Benzacar, in *Rev. écon. de Bordeaux,* XIV, 47.

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exporting grain without due consideration of domestic needs.[12] These agricultural crises had disturbing effects on small scale and rural industry by precipitating subsistence problems for the workers.[13] Scarcity of grain in Bordeaux was constant during the eighteenth century and is attested in the reports of functionaries at various levels.[14] In spite of the commercial supremacy of the Gironde valley, indigence was common. Its corollary, mass unrest, was reported frequently before 1783 and constantly from that time until the outbreak of the Revolution.[15]

A unique factor bearing directly upon subsistence in Bordeaux was the intense specialization of the surrounding areas in the vine. By 1750 the local planting of wheat had been virtually abandoned in an effort to devote as much acreage as possible to the renowned grapes.[16] Normally, domestic wheat was brought from Le bas-Médoc,[17] the single area in the *sénéchaussée* producing in any quantity, and from Agen, Auch, le Quercy, Brittany, and Normandy.[18] Supplies often came from central and eastern Europe, reaching the Gironde sometimes via Britain or the Low Countries.[19] If Bordeaux was to be provisioned, both the importation of wheat and the exportation of wine were essential.

A good year from the vine, favorable transportation facilities for domestic and foreign commerce, fair reciprocal trade relationships, and peace (particularly with Britain) would combine to produce prosperity for the commercial families and something above subsistence for the peasantry and workers. Examination of conditions in Bordeaux during the eighteenth century results in the clear impression that these ideal circumstances were rarely approached.

The infrequency of good yields from the land has already been discussed,

[12] Malvezin, III, 220.

[13] Georges Lefebvre, "Le mouvement des prix et les origines de la Révolution française," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française,* XIV (1937), 327.

[14] Benzacar, in *Rev. écon. de Bordeaux,* XIV, 44–45.

[15] Camille L. Jullian, *Histoire de Bordeaux depuis les origines jusqu'en 1895* (Bordeaux, 1895), p. 622, explains, *"Il y avait à ces mouvements d'hommes un légitime motif: le besoin de pain ou l'insuffisance du salaire."*

[16] Marion, in *Rev. des études hist.,* LXVIII, 455.

[17] Jean Auguste Brutails, "Contre la vie chère à Bordeaux au XVIII[e] siècle," *Revue historique de Bordeaux et du département de la Gironde,* XVIII (1925), 173, based on a report of Intendant Clugny (circa 1776) holds that this area could provision Bordeaux for four months per year if difficulties of transportation could be surmounted. River transport was customary, but the tides in the Gironde estuary proved a barrier. Benzacar (in *Rev. écon. de Bordeaux,* XIV, 45) writes that in normal years local harvests only produced enough grain to supply the district from one to three months.

[18] Benzacar, in *Rev. écon. de Bordeaux,* XIV, 47–48.

[19] Purchases of wheat were made in Danzig, Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg as well as in Russia according to Louis Bachelier, *Histoire du commerce de Bordeaux depuis les temps plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours* (Bordeaux, 1863), pp. 215–16.

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and the viticultural crisis in the latter decades of the century must not be discounted.[20] Closely related are the questions of transportation, commerce, and war and peace. Goods were moved either by overland facilities or by ocean and river carriers. The lack of adequate roads has been considered a more serious obstacle to the well-being of the population in Guienne than the feudal practices.[21] One of the historic barriers to the free circulation of grain within France was the prejudice against unrestricted domestic commerce. In spite of the ordinances of 1764, 1774, and 1787 guaranteeing exchange of grain, trade in this commodity did not flow.[22] On the other hand, the Gironde estuary and the Garonne valley proved great assets in facilitating river and ocean-going transportation.

Unfortunately for the overseas trade, "the most important factor in the economic life of Bordeaux,"[23] peace was needed to attain maximum benefits. But the eighteenth century was not an epoch of peace for France. Further, what wars there were took on a mercantile character, being primarily with England, whose power lay in its maritime strength. During the War of the Spanish Succession Bordeaux suffered acutely from the combination of British sea power and the harsh winter of 1708–1709. The scarcity of bread of all types and wine was reflected in prices which were fourfold those of previous years.[24] Conditions of misery were general within the city, and there was no relief until hostilities were terminated at Utrecht.

An opposite trend can be observed from 1717 until 1741 when peace enabled the volume of commerce flowing through the port of Bordeaux to increase by more than four hundred per cent.[25] This prosperity ended when France became involved in the mid-century wars.

Fortunately for Bordeaux, the War of the Austrian Succession was not particularly destructive to commerce with the West Indies; and, until 1747, French convoys made the Atlantic run without serious interruption. This situation is explained by two factors. Not until 1747 did the British organize the Western Squadron, which proved responsible for the naval victories of that year. Secondly, French shippers, by placing their insurance in London, not only escaped the excessive rates prevailing in France but also received

[20] Lefebvre, in *Annales hist.*, XIV, 313.

[21] See Marion, in *Rev. des études hist.*, LXVIII, 209. Efforts were made to employ troops and prison labor on the roads without noticeable success. *Ibid.*, LXVIII, 211.

[22] Lefebvre, in *Annales hist.*, XIV, 307; Louis D. Viala, *La question des grains et de leur commerce à Toulouse au* XVIII[e] *siècle (de 1715 à 1789)* (Toulouse, 1909), p. 105. Generally this condition seems traceable to inadequate transportation and to localism accentuated by scarcity.

[23] Stewart L. Mims, *Colbert's West India Policy* (New Haven, 1912), p. 239.

[24] Malvezin, III, 20–21.

[25] *Ibid.*, III, 42, cites the figures: 12,777,698 livres for 1717 and 53,481,533 livres for 1741.

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information enabling them to avoid capture![26] By the last year of the war, however, the merchants of Bordeaux were acutely aware of the Royal Navy, which successfully blockaded the West Indies and the coast of France.[27] The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle preserved French possessions in the West Indies and restored the commerce on which the port of Bordeaux relied.

Considerably more destructive to Bordeaux's overseas trade was the Seven Years' War. Even before the conflict was officially recognized by the belligerents, in 1755, the port had lost ninety-six merchantmen.[28] In addition, Britain successfully invaded Guadeloupe (1759) and Martinique (February, 1762), thereby transferring the considerable revenues from these islands to herself.[29] This offensive was matched by similar operations in Canada, India, and on the high seas. The net result of these victories was the destruction of the commercial edifice of Bordeaux.[30] Hardship in differing intensity was borne by the wage earners and the wealthy merchants. Unemployment among the former group was matched by bankruptcies among the commercial houses, and both suffered from bread famine. Although the chamber of commerce of Guienne protested the cession of Canada under the Peace of Paris, it knew that the economic recovery of Bordeaux was dependent upon the end of hostilities at whatever cost.[31]

After the Seven Years' War Bordeaux entered a period of unexcelled prosperity in which a virtual monopoly of the commerce with the West Indies was gained. Most convincing are the figures themselves. The volume of colonial commerce mounted from 22,195,161 livres in 1750 to 170,828,333 livres in 1770.[32] Nearly three hundred merchant ships put out of the harbor yearly. So virile was this aspect of the city's economy that even French participation in the war between Britain and the United States failed to dislocate it, since the initial shipping losses were balanced by the new triangular trade between Bordeaux, the Antilles, and the United States.[33] Instead of returning directly to France with colonial products, captains from Bordeaux now proceeded to

[26] Walter L. Dorn, *Competition for Empire 1740–1763* (New York, 1940), pp. 171–72.

[27] Malvezin, III, 46, 306–307, cites the figures showing a reduced volume of trade passing through Bordeaux.

[28] *Ibid.*, III, 47.

[29] This good fortune was received with misgivings by the British sugar interests, who soon witnessed the flooding of the London market with cheap Guadeloupe sugars. See Dorn, p. 363, and Frank W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies 1700–1763* (New Haven, 1917), p. 341n, for a document revealing the contrast between the price of sugar in Bordeaux and London in 1752–1753.

[30] Malvezin, III, 302–21, for statistics illustrating the blows administered against Bordeaux's commerce.

[31] Bachelier, pp. 195–201, reproduces the "Lettre de la Chambre de commerce de Guyenne à M. le duc de Choiseul."

[32] Malvezin, III, 306–307; Bachelier, p. 203.

[33] Bachelier, p. 207.

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American ports where they took on tobacco for home. Despite this prosperity, violent weather and poor distribution were responsible for bread shortages in 1766 and 1773.

The signing of the Anglo-French treaty of commerce in 1786 injected another favorable element into the commercial life of Bordeaux. A marked increase in the export of French wines was the important result. In the eight months following the application of the accord London alone increased her demand for the wines of France by 20,000 barrels.[34] Though this additional market was divided among the wine-producing areas of France, the lion's share fell to Bordeaux. Consumption of Bordeaux wines in England—primarily London—advanced from 480 tons in 1786 to 2,127 tons in 1787,[35] and a similar situation prevailed with regard to *eaux-de-vie*.

It is not surprising that the vintners, wholesalers, and shippers of Bordeaux were elated with the treaty. Considerably less enthusiastic were the entrepreneurs whose embryonic industries suffered in competition with English factories. An example of protest is furnished by the bottle manufacturers of Bordeaux. Spokesmen for this industry were quick to observe that the twelve per cent protection furnished by the treaty allowed the English producer a thirty per cent advantage in the French market.[36] Seen in this light, the commercial pact with England was responsible for the industrial retrenchment in Bordeaux, which, by the winter of 1788–1789, resulted in heavy unemployment. Doubly severe was the predicament of these jobless Bordelais because prices for necessities were the highest experienced in eighty years. Local industry was temporarily sacrificed to the interests of the vine and commerce. In defense of the policy it may be noted that the 1786–1792 period was the most brilliant in the century for the commerce of Bordeaux.

By the autumn of 1788 the chief concern of the Bordelais was not commerce but rather the bread crisis which appeared imminent as a result of the poor harvest. The degree of popular interest in this subject can be appreciated when certain careful studies of workers' budgets are borne in mind. The results of these indicate that between fifty and sixty per cent of the French worker's food budget was devoted to the purchase of bread during the 1785–1789 period.[37] Moreover, the figure is estimated to have reached eighty-eight per cent in 1789.[38] Were this last statement projected over a greater time span, it

[34] François Dumas, *Etude sur le traité de commerce de 1786 entre la France et l'Angleterre* (Toulouse, 1904), p. 161, citing Dupont de Nemours' defense of the treaty. Dupont employed figures furnished by the chamber of commerce of Bordeaux.

[35] Malvezin, III, 58; Bachelier, p. 210.

[36] Dumas, p. 150, citing Archives Nationales, B^7, 546.

[37] Labrousse, II, 593, 596.

[38] Lefebvre, in *Annales hist.*, XIV, 315.

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might imply mass starvation. Restricted to 1789 and ameliorated somewhat by private and public relief,[39] it suggests malnutrition and a high rate of disease and mortality among the lower classes.

In the presence of the developing famine of 1788 the workers of Bordeaux (both employed and unemployed) were in a greatly inferior position to that of the captains of commerce and their subordinates. Further, since the urban proletariat was largely inarticulate, its plight is not acutely reflected in the sources to which the historian customarily directs attention.[40] Even had the lower classes been articulate, there were other barriers sufficient to prevent publication of their case.[41] Nevertheless, the conflict existed. By 1793 it was openly expressed in political alignments within the chief city of Bordeaux. That these issues were not born of the Revolution but were deeply planted in the Old Regime becomes apparent as the problem of subsistence in Guienne before the Revolution is studied.

By July, 1789, the acute wheat shortage in France was mirrored in "the highest point in the rise of long durational, cyclical, and seasonal price."[42] The political fever in Paris coincided with this economic distress. Conditions

[39] Camille Bloch, *L'assistance & l'état en France à la veille de la Révolution* (Paris, 1908), p. 355, for evidence of some public relief in Bordeaux in 1788.

[40] The general cahiers of the *sénéchaussée* of Bordeaux (and also for the larger area encompassed by the *généralité* of Bordeaux) in general sustain this opinion. Most often the condition of the agrarian and city workers was considered from the viewpoint of the returns from the soil or the factory, rather than from the humanitarian side. However, in the third estate cahier of Bordeaux (*sénéchaussée*) the suppression of *fêtes* is requested in the interests of food production, Jérome Mavidal and Emile Laurent, eds., *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860* (Paris, 1867–75), Ser. I, vol. II, 405. Further each parish was asked to care for its poor, *ibid.*, II, 404. Petitions for improvement in existing roads and for construction of new highways appear in *ibid.*, II, 400, 404. Nevertheless the impression is strong that the interests of the upper middle class were dominant in formulating this cahier, the full text of which is in *ibid.*, II, 397–405, with corrections by Beatrice Hyslop, *A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789, with Texts of Unedited Cahiers* (New York, 1936), p. 166. See also Armand Brette, *Recueil de documents rélatifs à la convocation des Etats Généraux de 1789* (Paris, 1894–1915), IV, 237 *et seq.* for the *généralité* of Bordeaux.

[41] The question of the value of the general cahiers is discussed thoroughly in Hyslop, pp. 48–106. The general cahiers are appraised as representing faithfully "dominant opinion." *Ibid.*, p. 84. In the city of Bordeaux "dominant opinion" would seem to be the opinion of the *noblesse de commerce*. An interesting letter written by Paul Nairac, a Bordelais who later sat in the National Assembly and became a Jacobin, is preserved in Brette, IV, 235–36. Nairac calls attention to inequalities in representation in preliminary assemblies. "*Nairac, négociant à Bordeaux, signale dans une lettre, non datée, l'inégalité des députations résultant du mode adopté pour les assemblées de corporations; d'après le* Tableau des corporations de Bordeaux *joint à cette lettre, 112 corporations d'arts et métiers proprement dites, comptant au total 3,308 personnes, nommeraient 123 électeurs, tandis que 22 corporations du commerce ('y compris celle des bourgeois vivant noblement'), composées de 1,856 personnes, nommeraient 47 électeurs.*"

[42] The quotation is from Beatrice Hyslop, "Recent Work on the French Revolution," *American Historical Review*, XLII (1942), 495, in discussing the work of Labrousse. This was the case for prices in general in twenty-seven of the thirty-two *généralités*. The widespread nature of the crisis can be appreciated when it is contrasted with the *crise célèbre* of 1770 when the cyclical maximum was attained in eleven *généralités*. Labrousse, I, 154. See *ibid.*, II, 640–41 for remarks on wheat prices. In the main the conclusions of Labrousse are corroborated in H. Hauser, *Recherches et documents sur l'histoire des prix en France de 1500 à 1800* (Paris, 1936), though the long introduction points out the pitfalls of price studies.

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in Bordeaux corresponded roughly to those in the country at large. Wheat was priced higher than at any previous time in the century.[43] The neighboring city of Toulouse labored under a similar handicap.[44] As in northern France, the burden was felt directly by the industrial workers and peasants. The strain upon the former in Bordeaux was somewhat eased by the previously mentioned practice of subsidizing the price of bread during periods of emergency.[45] In spite of this policy, however, the actual price paid by the consumer was three livres more per *boisseau* than in 1788.[46] The scarcity of bread,[47] induced primarily by the unfortunate harvest, was accentuated by faulty distribution. Within the city of Bordeaux excessive purchases of wheat and flour by persons who could afford to hoard took place, and similar practices are reported in the countryside with disastrous effects on both price and supply of bread.[48]

A psychology of fear prevailed within the ranks of the urban and agrarian workers. One consequence of this state of mind was the abortive attack planned in August, 1789, against Bordeaux's Bastille, Château Trompette, where clandestine supplies were purportedly stored. Among the peasantry word was spread that the area faced starvation.[49]

The ninety electors of Bordeaux, since July, 1789, the municipal government, attempted to curb the anxiety. Notices were printed pointing out that the neighboring mills were provided with more flour than could be consumed by the population. To forestall a march of the hungry, the city officials of Bordeaux distributed bread to the needy at community expense.[50] At this time the same authority organized a censorship to prevent publication of rumors which might adversely affect the public peace. In October, 1789, the circula-

[43] Benzacar, in *Rev. écon. de Bordeaux,* XIV, 54, 82.

[44] Viala, pp. 114–17 holds the 1789 price the highest since 1715 and earlier for Toulouse. April was the peak month.

[45] See note 1 above. Lefebvre, in *Annales hist.,* XIV, 314, records that an effort was made to regulate the price of bread for workers at Bourbourg in the future district of Bergues.

[46] The difference was between 17 livres, 19 *sols* (1789), and 14 livres, 17 *sols* (1788). Benzacar, in *Rev. écon. de Bordeaux,* XIV, 87.

[47] Brette, IV, 365, quoting *Mémoire apologétique pour les officiers de sénéchal et présidial de la ville de Dax, servant de réponse à la requête présentée au parlement par les officiers municipaux de la même ville* (Dax, 1789), deposited in Archives Nationales under B^{a}, 36, reports a famine in Dax, *généralité de Bordeaux* (later department of Landes), in 1789. A parenthetical remark in the same document adds: *"Les boulangers refusent de prendre le blé acheté à Bordeaux à cause de son odeur."*

[48] Registre de l'Assemblée des quatre-vingt-dix électeurs, July 28, 1789, Archives Municipales de Bordeaux (hereafter abbreviated "A.M.B."), D. 216, No. 29.

[49] Château-Trompette 1789—An II, rapport des volontaires des régiments patriotiques, Aug. 16, 1789, *ibid.,* H. 11, No. 1.

[50] Arrêté des quatre-vingt-dix électeurs de la ville de Bordeaux, July 29, 1789, Bibliothèque Municipal de Bordeaux, fonds Delpit (hereafter abbreviated "B.M.B., f. Delpit"), Carton 7, No. 124.

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tion of a pamphlet entitled *Will We Have Bread?* was proscribed by General Duras, commandant of the citizen army of Bordeaux.[51]

This concern for public order found the thirteen regiments of the citizen army of Bordeaux discussing the bread problem. Regiment Sainte Eulalie[52] asked permission to search châteaux, storehouses, and granaries in the environs for hidden supplies of wheat. This unit recommended reduction of grain and flour exports to the colonies until local needs had been satisfied. From regiment Saint Seurin came the suggestion for a daily inspection of weights and measures in the bakeries.

Noting the keen interest of the military in civic questions, the municipal government of Bordeaux requested assistance from the citizen army in investigating bread prices. A committee composed of citizen soldiers accepted this responsibility, and it was not long before a controlled experiment in breadmaking was in operation. Twelve different types of flour were used, and the amount of bread produced was checked against costs.[53] The final report expressed the opinion that the bakers were exploiting the consumers. A reduction in price was strongly recommended. "We were completely convinced, Sirs, that the bakers were making a huge profit."[54] But this suggestion was not taken seriously by the ninety electors, a group in which the mercantile interests were dominant. The result of the experiment was a childish disagreement between the town administration and the committee—the investigators being reproached for producing 121 units of bread when police regulation and court decree had fixed the output of one bushel at 115 units.[55]

In the rural areas, as in Bordeaux, there were clear indications of bread scarcity during the autumn of 1789. That fear of famine gripped the peasantry and townspeople was attested by the frequent riots in the market places. Créon, a village twenty miles southeast of Bordeaux, was the scene of raiding; and pillage reached such a state that it became necessary to supervise the selling of grain and flour.[56] A similar situation prevailed in St. Martin du Bois

[51] Michel Lhéritier, *Les débuts de la révolution à Bordeaux d'après les tablettes manuscrits de Pierre Bernadau* (Paris, 1919), p. 99.

[52] Adresse du régiment de Sainte-Eulalie à l'armée patriotique, Jan. 16, 1790, B.M.B., Collection Bernadau, XII, unnumbered. Units of the citizen army of Bordeaux were organized by and named after parishes.

[53] Arrêté des quatre-vingt-dix électeurs des communes de Bordeaux, Nov. 12, 1789, *ibid.*, f. Delpit, Carton 11, No. 212. For an explanation of bread types in Bordeaux before the Revolution see Brutails, in *Rev. hist. de Bordeaux,* XVIII, 170–72.

[54] Compte rendu au conseil militaire de l'armée nationale de Bordeaux, des essais faits sur les farines les nuits du 19 au 20, du 21 au 22 octobre, et le jour du 5 novembre 1789, Nov. 15, 1789, B.M.B., f. Delpit, Carton 10, No. 194.

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] Correspondance des 90 électeurs avec les municipalités, Aug. 19, 1789, A.M.B., D. 221, No. 61.

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where inhabitants were afraid to buy supplies because they were often stolen between the market and their homes.[57] To curb excesses in the latter town, Bordeaux and Libourne each sent a brigade of cavalry. Similar protective arrangements were negotiated between Bordeaux and most of the smaller communities within the old province of Guienne.

These reciprocal relationships between citizen armies in the Southwest were an important factor in preventing excesses in 1789 and 1790. Their very existence reflected temporary political stability in municipal and departmental government. Through the efforts of the ninety electors of Bordeaux and the general council of the department of Gironde[58]—both bodies were dominated by the *noblesse de commerce*[59]—a semblance of public confidence was restored after July, 1789. An attempt was made to provide cheap and free bread for the jobless, distribution being supervised in Bordeaux (until 1791) by the curés.[60] Further contributing to recovery was a good harvest in the year 1790, the continuation of foreign commerce in the Gironde valley due to conditions of peace, and the fact that the assignats had not yet depreciated to a point where they complicated foreign exchange. In contrast to the last year of the absolute monarchy and the cycle which was to follow the summer of 1791, the National Assembly period (1789–1791) may be considered economically stable. This stability in Gironde was maintained under the guidance of the upper bourgeoisie, who, by virtue of circumstances favorable to economic prosperity, were in a position to popularize their newly acquired political leadership.

By the winter of 1791 subsistence again posed a serious problem. Summer predictions that the harvest would be mediocre proved optimistic. Particularly disastrous was the vine yield for the year. Translated into terms of bread, this spelled hardship inasmuch as credits from the wine industry usually covered grain purchases.[61] To continue to subsidize the price of bread under these changed conditions was a heavy, perhaps crushing, burden for the taxpayers of the Southwest. Yet pressure on them increased as the accomplishments of the Revolution of 1789 receded into the past and appeared remote and incom-

[57] Lettre des quatre-vingt-dix électeurs à M.M. composant l'assemblée nationale, Nov. 21, 1789, *ibid.*, D. 218, No. 17.

[58] The departmental system came into being after passage of the law of December 14, 1789. "Gironde" was hewed from the old *gouvernement* of Guienne and Gascony or from the *généralité* (more accurately the intendancy) of Bordeaux. The boundaries of the department were smaller than either of these earlier divisions, though they came closest to those of the intendancy.

[59] A close study, made by the author, of the occupations and interests of the membership of the ninety electors and departmental council has emphasized strongly this conclusion.

[60] Benzacar, in *Rev. écon. de Bordeaux*, XV, 42. Similar policies and results are reported in Toulouse by Viala, p. 66, in these words, *"Pendant les derniers mois de 1789, Toulouse parâit calme. Cette tranquillité fut due en partie aux blés achetés par la ville."*

[61] Benzacar, in *Rev. écon. de Bordeaux*, XIV, 113, 117.

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plete. Dissatisfaction of the lesser commercial interests and the workers was exposed when control of the citizen army of Bordeaux passed to a less "respectable" group. Courpon, a commoner, was elected commanding general to succeed the aristocratic scion, the duc de Duras. Though no direct relationship can be traced between the two events, shortly afterward (July 24, 1791) bread made the headlines anew when a riot developed in the center of Bordeaux. Insurgents had entered several bakeries around Place Dauphine (Place Gambetta in 1940) and had discovered moldy bread in the cellars. Exhibiting this evidence to a crowd, the malcontents were quick to provoke violence.[62] The municipal government later claimed there was no proof that the inferior food was for sale and hinted the rioters had carried the evidence into the bakeries.[63] The divergent view that bread *was* of poor quality as well as overpriced was more generally held. This opinion was reinforced by succeeding developments in Gironde.

The outbreak of war against Austria and Prussia in April, 1792, put an additional strain upon the resources of the department. Although another contest with England might have disrupted economic life to a greater extent, the loss of Central Europe as a source of wheat and the effects of requisitioning men and equipment were soon felt. By the end of 1792 some eight thousand men had been recruited from Gironde; and while bakers were extended a form of occupational deferment along with printers, armorers, and certain professional men, farmers were not.[64] The supply of available food decreased. Upon the cities, where the bread shortage was already onerous, fell the extra burden of supplying and lodging recruits from the countryside while they were being trained for active service.[65] The counterpart in the rural districts was a shortage of agricultural labor which doubtless contributed to the poor harvest of 1792. Wheat and bread became exceedingly scarce in the Southwest.

The municipal and departmental authorities took frantic measures to alleviate this shortage, but their efforts were not noticeably successful. Commissioners were dispatched to neighboring departments in search of wheat, and eighteen thousand bushels were reported procured.[66] Inasmuch as this

[62] Avis aux citoyens, July 24, 1791, B.M.B., f. Delpit, Carton 26, No. 503; Histoire de Bordeaux. Documents. Recueil de documents originaux imprimées et manuscrits et des notes d'histoire locale, rangés dans l'ordre chronologique, par Aurélien Vivie, A.M.B., Collection Vivie, No. 226.

[63] Adresse aux citoyens, sur les attroupemens . . . à Bordeaux . . . lue à la Société des Amis de la Constitution, July 26, 1791, B.M.B., f. Delpit, Carton 27, No. 532.

[64] Extrait de la loi de 6 septembre 1792, Archives Départementales de la Gironde (hereafter abbreviated "A.D.G."), Ser. L, M/G.

[65] Arrêté du conseil général du département de la Gironde, concernant une nouvelle levée de 5900 volontaires, Sept. 17, 1792, A.M.B., H. 2, No. 40.

[66] Registre de correspondance de la municipalité de Bordeaux 1792–1793. Lettre au citoyen Boyer-Fonfrède à Paris, Oct. 13, 1792, *ibid.*, D. 142, No. 26B.

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windfall would supply the city only for a limited time, a communication was sent to Boyer-Fonfrède, one of Bordeaux's representatives in the Convention, requesting consideration of the problem in Paris.[67] No relief from the capital is reported. Even if wheat had been available in the needed quantity, it is doubtful whether the local governors could have continued to distribute bread below cost. In light of the poor yields from the land, the decline in commerce, and the inflation, which resulted in unprosperous conditions generally, the subsidy formula needed revaluation.[68] Finally, the political leadership of Gironde faced a dilemma: it could not afford to maintain the subsidy program, yet it appeared unable to continue in office without that policy.

Hope of increasing the supply of bread in 1793 was dashed by the declaration of war against Britain (February 1) and Spain (March 7). In February the department was asked for 6,060 new recruits,[69] and in March an additional 2,000 men were sent to Vendée to quell the civil war raging in that department.[70] Not only was Gironde drained of men, but since war was being waged in the Pyrenees, great quantities of supplies were siphoned off for nearby armies. Bread became increasingly scarce, and prices mounted steadily, while the assignat fell from fifty-five to twenty-seven between January and

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Benzacar, in *Rev. écon. de Bordeaux,* XIV, 118, describes this situation in Bordeaux (circa 1792) as follows: "*'La ville ne peut plus faire de sacrifices pour vendre le pain au-dessous du prix de revient,' on en est réduit au projet de vendre la maison commune.*" The following table of successive paper money values in the department of Gironde, uncovered in B.M.B., f. Delpit, Carton 42, No. 827, by the author, gives an impression of the decline of the assignat in Gironde. This table agrees generally with the chart for France as a whole published in Louis Gottschalk, *The Era of the French Revolution* (Boston, 1929), p. 164. The general study considers the devaluation of assignats approximately ten points (base 100) lower in December, 1792, than the local estimate reproduced here. Agreement is closer for the year 1793.

TABLE OF SUCCESSIVE PAPER MONEY VALUES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF GIRONDE
(100—Base)

	1791	*1792*	*1793*	*1794*	*1795*
January	89.5	67	55	41	21.5
February	89.75	59.25	53.75	43	19.5
March	89.25	58.5	53.5	37.5	16.25
April	89	61.75	47	37.5	—
May	83.75	57.25	44.75	35.25	—
June	82.75	59.5	37	31.5	—
July	84.25	61.5	27	35.5	—
August	81.25	61	28.5	32.5	—
September	81.75	66.5	32	30.25	—
October	81.75	66.5	30.5	27.75	—
November	79.5	69	41.25	26.25	—
December	73.75	65.5	51.75	28.5	—

[69] *Moniteur* (Paris, 1847–50), Feb. 26, 1793.

[70] A.M.B., Collection Vivie, No. 227; M. Brives-Cazes, "Expédition en Vendée de deux bataillons de la garde nationale de Bordeaux (mars-août 1793)," *Actes de l'académie nationale des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Bordeaux,* 3d ser. (1885), pp. 9–12.

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July, 1793.[71] During the second week of March, the hungry of Bordeaux marched upon the *maison commune*. Supporting their sections and clubs, the people joined in the battle of bread.[72]

It was in the sections of Bordeaux that the question of providing bread for the city and department was most objectively discussed. During the spring of 1793, these political groups represented public opinion in Bordeaux more adequately than had the citizen army earlier. The latter had been closely controlled by the successful bourgeoisie while the sections expressed such divergent views as might come from districts varying between the bourse and the areas inhabited by day laborers. From the latter, numerous petitions suggesting ways to relieve the bread shortage were presented to the city and departmental administrations. Typical was the recommendation made by section Sans Culottes after several of its members had found bread for sale "having such a disagreeable odor [and] . . . so strong that one could not eat it for fear that its poor quality would cause illness."[73] Sans Culottes asked city officials to deliver high grade flour and wheat to bakers of known integrity.[74] Such action was expected to provide enough bread for the population of Bordeaux at a reasonable price; but the scarcity of flour and the depleted state of the local treasury made this proposal, and many others, impracticable.

Unfortunately the problem of furnishing bread for Bordeaux in 1793 was bound to the larger issues of revolution and war. To these can be traced reduced agricultural production and closed supply arteries, and the social unrest which acted as a continual barrier to the solution. Of more immediate concern to the local officials was the poor yield in Hautes Pyrénées and the rebellion in Vendée and Deux Sèvres, other wheat producing departments on which Gironde relied. Also, free transport of the small quantities of wheat which could be collected was hampered because municipalities "high-jacked" from one another without qualm. Against this practice Bordeaux protested to the Convention. Later, communications explaining why that city had adopted the same tactics were sent to Paris.[75] The Bordelais were practical people! Being so, they probably recognized by 1793 that the sensitive balance

[71] The figures are from the chart given in note 68 above. B.M.B., f. Delpit, Carton 42, No. 827.

[72] Registre des délibérations du conseil général de la commune, Mar., 1793, A.M.B., D. 102, Nos. 126–31. Bordeaux was divided into twenty-eight sections in 1791 for purposes of administration. Each unit adopted a Revolutionary name, and by 1793 sectional meetings discussed municipal and national issues.

[73] Délibération de la section Sans Culottes, Mar. 9, 1793, *ibid.*, I. 58, No. 2.

[74] Séance du 19 avril 1793, *ibid.*, I. 58, No. 4.

[75] On both these points see Registre de correspondance de la municipalité 1793. Lettre au procureur-syndic du district, May 20, 1793, *ibid.*, D. 143, No. 134.

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necessary to bring prosperity to the mercantile captains and subsistence to the workers and peasants had been irrevocably dislocated.

The result of these circumstances was that many inhabitants of Gironde were without bread for extended periods during April and May in 1793. The rural population fared no better than the city dwellers; indeed, in some districts the complete absence of wheat and flour sent the residents flocking to Bordeaux. There they often spent days waiting before the bakeries, and their efforts were rarely repaid. In other instances the reward was expensive bread unfit for consumption.[76] So desperate was the food situation at this time that the general council of the department took extreme measures to obtain provisions. On one occasion a cargo destined for Senegal and Cayenne was illegally unloaded in Bordeaux upon the order of the departmental authority.[77] A rather lame rationalization was offered: because of delays occasioned by the blockade, the flour involved would certainly have spoiled before reaching its destination.[78]

A more plausible explanation for action of this type, as well as for the continuing bread shortage in Bordeaux, is to be found in the deteriorating relations between the National Convention and the city. The battle for political control between the Mountain and the Girondins waged in Paris during the spring of 1793 had potent implications in the south. In Bordeaux the municipal and departmental administrations supported the Girondins. Mountainist strength came from the working class districts within the city and environs but, until the summer of 1793, had been unable to control municipal politics or to elect its candidates to the Convention. The *coup d'état* executed by the Mountain in Paris (May 31–June 2, 1793) smashed the Girondin party. The local officials who were partisans of Boyer-Fonfrède, Gensonné, and Vergniaud—Girondin deputies incarcerated in Paris—refused to recognize the liquidation of that party.[79] In contrast, the sections of Bordeaux unsympathetic toward the mercantile interests that dominated politics, viewed the change as a victory of the first magnitude. But what was the connection between the *coup d'état* and the bread shortage in the Gironde? Simply this: the department could expect no assistance from the central government in solving the subsistence problem unless events of May 31–June 2

[76] *Ibid.*, Collection Vivie, No. 227.

[77] *Ibid.* This document records the illegal unloading of the ships *La Nourrice* and *Hercule* on May 3, 1793.

[78] Registre de correspondance de la municipalité 1793. Lettre au procureur-syndic du district, May 20, 1793, *ibid.*, D. 143, No. 134.

[79] Details on the federalist uprisings are available in Richard Brace, "Bordeaux's Opposition to Dictatorship in 1793," *Journal of Modern History*, XIV (1942), 161–76.

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were accepted. No action was taken by Bordeaux and that Girondist center was placed under a blockade by the Convention.

Although Mountainists had earlier been accused of fomenting the bread problem in Bordeaux, their activities were far less comprehensive than those undertaken by the Convention after June, 1793.[80] In the months which followed, Paris waged a double-barreled attack upon the city. Bread was the Convention's weapon; and Bordeaux's supplies, paltry as they had been, were systematically interrupted. Simultaneously, the working-class sections of the recalcitrant city were encouraged to rebel against the municipal and departmental authorities. Representatives on mission were the agency through which the blockade was applied. During the summer of 1793, several teams of these emissaries from Paris visited Bordeaux. To representatives Yzabeau and Baudot, who arrived on August 19 to argue the case of the Convention, fell the responsibility of conducting the final operations.[81] Inasmuch as they were hounded by supporters of the local government, Yzabeau and Baudot set up headquarters in La Réole, a town approximately fifty miles to the southeast. From this *point d'appui* patrols were maintained to intercept grain convoys destined for Bordeaux.[82] The success of this maneuver was unquestionable, and the diminished bread supply placed heavier pressure upon the municipal administration. All that the city officials could do was to throw themselves upon the mercy of neighboring townships. "Citizens, send us bread, 120,000 souls are within our walls besides those in the environs . . . help us, do not reduce us to desperation."[83]

When the Bordelais were sufficiently hungry and their governors discredited for their inability to provide bread, the representatives on mission communicated with those sections favoring the Convention. With the cooperation of this discontented local faction, Yzabeau and Baudot hoped to engineer a municipal *coup d'état*. To hasten that event a correspondence was opened between the emissaries in La Réole, writing under the name of "Citizen Leave," and a member of section Franklin, the sans-culotte, "Charles."[84] The plan which developed through this exchange of letters depended heavily upon proper exploitation of the bread shortage by the *conventionels*. "According to what Leave writes it appears that you prepare something very vigor-

[80] A.M.B., Collection Vivie, No. 227.

[81] Rapport de ce qui s'est passé à Bordeaux à l'arrivée . . . des représentans du peuple, Baudot et Ysabeau. Extrait du journal du citoyen Ysabeau, August, 1793, B.M.B., Carton 39, No. 771; Rapport de ce qui s'est passé à Bordeaux pendant le séjour des représentans du peuple, Baudot & Isabeau. Rédigé par Baudot, August, 1793, *ibid.*, Carton 40, No. 781.

[82] A.M.B., Collection Vivie, No. 229.

[83] *Ibid.* This plea was written on Aug. 18, 1793.

[84] *Ibid.*, No. 230.

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ous. . . . Whatever you undertake, do not do it without wheat. That commodity is the sole means of your support."[85]

Not only did the Convention's supporters go to great length to place the responsibility for the acute bread shortage upon the governing officials in Bordeaux, but they indicated that the central government could furnish adequate supplies of bread. They promised a two million franc gift from the Convention to be used for relieving the scarcity. Those sections loyal to Paris were to administer this relief fund.[86] That this grant was never received by the beleaguered Bordelais is not strange considering the Mountain's political skill.[87] But the gesture had the desired result; and on September 18, 1793, the sections of Bordeaux deputized by the Convention marched upon the Hôtel-de-Ville and displaced the pro-Girondin officials. Directly the new administration was installed, a dispatch was rushed to Yzabeau at La Réole suggesting that he forward flour convoys.[88]

Still distrusting the Bordelais, the representatives on mission delayed shipment of wheat and flour until they were certain that the city was willing to co-operate with the Convention. Not until a month later, on October 16, would the *missi* risk entry into Bordeaux. When the walls were symbolically breached, Tallien, a new emissary from Paris, summed up the conquest of Bordeaux as being accomplished by "fear and flour."[89] Thus bread proved a useful weapon in the hands of the Convention for establishing control in Gironde.

Until December, 1793, Bordeaux experienced a military regime under General Brune, who discharged the orders of representatives on mission Yzabeau and Tallien. When the city gave evidence of co-operating with the Revolutionary government, General Brune was recalled, leaving the representatives on mission to cope with the subsistence problem. Their chief task was to apply the Law of the Maximum.

Strictly speaking the law of September 29, 1793, known as the Law of the Maximum, did not concern itself with wheat or bread, since commerce in grains had been regulated the previous May. At this time the price was fixed in each department on the basis of the average price (*mercuriales*) between

[85] Correspondance entre le sans-culotte, Charles et citoyen "Leave" auprès des députés de la convention à La Réole, Aug. 29, 1793, A.D.G., Ser. L, M/G.

[86] Les représentans du peuple . . . en séance à La Réole, aux citoyens composant les sections . . ., Sept. 6, 1793, A.M.B., I. 69, No. 68.

[87] However, those same sections of the city were highly inconsistent. While lauding the generosity of the Convention, they criticized the local administration for attempting to solve the problem by subsidy.

[88] A.M.B., Collection Vivie, No. 230.

[89] *Ibid.*

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January 1, and May 1, 1793. This price was to be reduced by one tenth on each succeeding month through August 1, 1793.[90] On September 3, 1793, the Convention amended the previous legislation by fixing the price of "good quality wheat" at fourteen livres a quintal. The best flour was to be sold at twenty livres per quintal, and a transportation charge of five sous per *lieu de poste* was granted.[91] A law of September 17, 1793, confirmed the price of choice wheat and flour and fixed the price of the inferior cereals.[92] These decrees formulated the legal maximum on grains and prescribed the conduct of producers and bakers until August 25, 1794, at which time the maximum on first grade grains was retained, but the price of second quality cereals was increased.[93] It was, then, this collective body of legislation which the representatives on mission at Bordeaux attempted to enforce.

But the administration of the Law of the Maximum was not entrusted simply to the representatives on mission. They were responsible to the subsistence committee, meeting in Paris under the chairmanship of Robert Lindet, the liaison for the committee of public safety.[94] In Bordeaux, assisting the representatives on mission, were delegates from the twenty-eight sections and a subcommittee of the *Directoire du District*.[95] What was the record of this administrative edifice in dealing with subsistence in Bordeaux?

The Terror inherited a chronic subsistence problem in Bordeaux. Misery continued, though it was somewhat abated, during the course of the Terror; and for several years after Thermidor there were no signs of improvement. Indeed, to appraise this policy of the Revolutionary government fairly, it may be observed that subsistence was dealt with more effectively in Bordeaux during the Terror than at any time between 1793 and 1796. This conclusion does not overlook Tallien's report to the Convention (on March 11, 1794) that the inhabitants of Bordeaux received a daily ration of a half pound of poor quality bread over an eight month period.[96] Nor does it minimize his personal experience of eating bread made from dog grass (*chiendent*).[97] Tallien's account need not be taken to imply that the representatives on mis-

[90] *Moniteur*, May 6, 1793.
[91] *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1793.
[92] *Ibid.*, Dec. 22, 1793. The price per quintal of rye and wheat mixture was twelve livres; first quality rye was ten livres; barley was nine livres; buckwheat and bran were seven livres; hay was six livres.
[93] *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1794. The price of a quintal of rye and wheat mixture was raised from twelve to thirteen livres.
[94] Robert R. Palmer, *Twelve Who Ruled* (Princeton, 1941), pp. 226–27, 245–46.
[95] Benzacar, in *Rev. écon. de Bordeaux*, XV, 34.
[96] *Moniteur*, Mar. 15, 1794.
[97] This grass seems to be *Agropyron repens*, commonly known as quitch grass or dog grass, containing little nutritional value.

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sion in Bordeaux were lax. On the contrary, they were extremely energetic, but the obstacles against which they labored were colossal. Requisitioning produce, enforcing a fixed price, and rationing of grain, flour, bread, and some forty other items were more easily accomplished on paper than in practice. To make their problem increasingly difficult, these measures were stubbornly resisted by the farmers, the businessmen, and a large part of the consuming public. Inflation had taken place at a greater rate than prices, as fixed by the maximum, increased; and in the hope of piercing the ceiling Bordeaux merchants were disposed to sell above controlled price or to withhold their goods from the market.[98]

To check black market operations those entrusted with enforcing the maximum in Bordeaux invoked severe penalties. In addition to the rather innocuous confiscations and fines provided in the original laws regulating production and sale of cereals, flour, and bread, the representatives on mission assessed fines up to one million livres against offending merchants. Also, the latter were forced to exchange letters of credit on foreign markets for assignats.[99] Of course, the final sanction against *"négotiantisme"* in forms more destructive to the system of the Revolutionary government was the guillotine. However, that machine was employed sparingly enough in Bordeaux, at least by contrast with Paris and Lyon. In spite of this rigorous policy of enforcement, collusion between producer and consumer often resulted in a situation where bread, and other foodstuffs, brought the price people would pay. Each petty offender could not be brought to the guillotine since the manpower requirements for the armies of France took priority even over the Revolutionary tribunal!

The difficulties in Bordeaux in the Year II cannot be traced to the Law of the Maximum, the chief weakness of which appears to have been that, given the times, it could not be enforced. Instead, the general instability and chaos of the period lend much excuse to the failure of the Revolutionary government to maintain economic equilibrium. Neither private enterprise nor public control seemed capable of functioning effectively under the stress of revolution and war. The record of the Revolutionary government in Bordeaux was no more or less impressive than that of Louis XVI's administrators, or of the *noblesse de commerce,* dominant in the municipal and departmental echelons of government between 1789 and the summer of 1793.

[98] James M. Thompson, *The French Revolution* (New York, 1945), pp. 524–25.

[99] Malvezin, III, 296–97; Benzacar, in *Rev. écon. de Bordeaux,* XIV, 126. It is my strong impression that these fines were high, not to compensate for inflation as much as to make examples of offending merchants and as a source of income. The representatives boasted of the wealth they took out of Bordeaux.

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Neither Louis's officials nor the *noblesse de commerce* had to cope with the European coalition at full tide. When this responsibility is added to the others of the Revolutionary government its record is not unimpressive. To continue the comparison, in this instance with the attempts of the Thermidorians to deal with subsistence in Bordeaux, the Revolutionary government's subsistence program appears outstanding when considered against the policies of the last year of the Convention which witnessed the repeal of the maximum (December 24, 1794) and France plunged into an inflationary spiral. To illustrate this point in more detail: from July 19, 1795, to September 1, 1795, eight million livres were spent on grain purchases in Bordeaux. In the Year IV (September, 1795–September, 1796) the daily cost ran 349,500 livres. The degree of inflation may be gauged when these figures are placed against the weekly charge of ten thousand livres in 1790.[100] Whatever the shortcomings of the maximum, its advantages over the uncontrolled inflation of 1794–1796 are clear.

[100] *Ibid.*, XV, 43.

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Lollard Opposition to Oaths by Creatures

HENRY G. RUSSELL*

I

IN studying the origins of any particular phase of the English Reformation we often have to start with the Lollards of the fourteenth century; for though the Lollards themselves met with no immediate welcome, the ideas for which they stood never died out; they were merely driven underground, there to be secretly nourished in private conventicle and forbidden tract, against the day of their general acceptance. That day finally dawned only when similar notions from the Continental Reformation came to give fresh vigor to these persistent Lollard ideas. Tunstall, bishop of London, writing to Erasmus in 1523, speaks of the Lutheran heresy that is beginning to infest England, and he says, "It is not a question of some pernicious novelty or other; but rather that new weapons are being added to the great band of Wyclif heretics."[1] Here we get a contemporary expression of the connection that was felt to exist between the earlier Lollard movement and the more recent forces set loose by the Reformation on the Continent.

One of the ideas which was thus first put forward by the Lollards, then reinforced from the Continent, and finally accepted by the English Reformation had to do with the form of legitimate oaths.[2] But before we turn to a detailed examination of this subject, it is well to point out that there was and still is no little confusion as to the exact nature of the Lollard opposition to oaths. The source of this confusion lies in the fact that the Lollards themselves describe their position in one way, while their opponents describe it in an entirely different way. If we simply read the official pronouncements

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[1] *"Neque enim Vna aut altera perniciosa nouitas ingeritur, sed ad ingentem Vuicleficarum, haeresum cateruam noua accedunt arma."* Cuthbert Tunstall to Erasmus, London, June 5, 1523, *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami,* ed. by Percy S. Allen (Oxford, 1906–38), V, 292. For further discussion of the relation between Lollardy and the English Reformation see Albert F. Pollard, *Thomas Cranmer and the English Reformation* (New York, 1904), pp. 89–92; James Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England* (London, 1908–13), I, 287–88; Thomas M. Lindsay, *A History of the Reformation* (New York, 1928), II, 316–18.

[2] For a discussion of Lollard opposition to profanity see Walter W. Skeat, ed., *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford, 1894), V, 275–76, 283–84, 463.

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against the Lollards and the description of their beliefs as given by their enemies, we get the impression that they rejected the use of all oaths as contrary to the teachings of Jesus.[3] If, on the other hand, we read what the Lollards themselves have to say, we learn that in almost every case they were not opposed to oaths as such but only to the form in which oaths at that time were customarily put. Most Lollards, as we shall see, refused to swear by creatures, that is to say by relics, by saints, and sometimes even by the Bible. But they were quite willing, in a necessary and legitimate cause, to swear by the Creator, by God Himself. To be sure, this was a rather finely drawn distinction, and one which might easily be overlooked in the heat of religious controversy. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find their opponents exaggerating it and misconstruing it into a rejection of all oaths. Unfortunately, however, the misunderstanding did not stop there but has been preserved and perpetuated by more recent writers, who in my opinion have relied too much on the statements made by the opponents of Lollardy and have not given enough consideration to what the Lollards themselves had to say.

Wyclif upheld the lawfulness of oaths, in the conventional scholastic style of the day.[4] He points out that an oath should have the three conditions first set down by Jeremiah, *i.e.* Truth, Judgment, Justice,[5] and he cautions against vain or trivial swearing.[6] "Eche man takiþ Goddis name in veyn," says Wyclif, "þat sweriþ bi his name more þan is need."[7] Christ's command "Swear not at all," simply means that we should not swear "without a praiseworthy and necessary cause."[8]

Shortly after Wyclif's death, however, we find his Lollard followers beginning to be accused of refusing all oaths. In 1388, or thereabouts, a list of twenty-five accusations was brought forward against the Lollards. The sixteenth article in this list accuses the Lollards of refusing all oaths: "Also bischoppis and freris putten to pore men þat þai sayne, hit ys not leefful for to swere in ony manere."[9] The answer which the Lollards make to this accusation is instructive:

[3] Matthew 5:33–37. *Cf.* James 5:12.

[4] John Wyclif, *Tractatus de Officio Regis*, ed. by Alfred W. Pollard and Charles Gayle (London, 1887), pp. 218 ff.; Wyclif, *Sermones*, ed. by Johann Loserth (London, 1887–90), I, 98; IV, 417.

[5] Jeremiah 4:2.

[6] Wyclif, *Sermones*, I, 98; IV, 415.

[7] Wyclif, *The Ten Commandments*, commentary on the second commandment, in *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, ed. by Thomas Arnold (Oxford, 1869–71), III, 84.

[8] *"Sine causa laudibili et necessaria."* Wyclif, *Sermones*, I, 98.

[9] *On the Twenty-Five Points*, Point XVI, in *Works*, III, 483.

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Trewly here is þo sothe sparid, as in mony wrytyngus and prechyngus hit is openly knowen. But here Cristen men sayne, þat hit is not leeful to swere by creaturis . . . Hit is nout leeful for to swere nedeles for a veyne thing. . . . If hit be nedeful for to swere for a spedful treuthe, men mowe wele swere as God did in þo olde lawe, Crist in his gospel, Seint Poule in his pistle, þo aungel in þo Apochalipse, wiþ declarynge of Seint Austen, Crisostom, Jerom, and many moo.[10]

This answer gives the Lollard position in perfectly clear terms, and hardly seems open to misunderstanding. Side by side with their opposition to oaths by creatures and all vain swearing, they give explicit permission for oaths "if hit be nedeful . . . for a spedful treuthe."[11]

The general prologue to the Lollard Bible, written about 1395, probably by Wyclif's helper John Purvey, gives another clear statement of the Lollard position.[12] The author in commenting on Christ's injunction against swearing by heaven and by earth says:

. . . therefore Christ in the v chapiter of Mathewe cõmaundyth to not swere bi heaven neither bi erth and vnderstondith bi heaven & earth: creaturys of heaven & creaturys of erth. And in al the olde lawe it is not founden where Godde grauntythe to swere by any creature, but onli bi hys owne name, or by hym selfe.[13]

In the *Lanterne of Light,* a Lollard tract written about 1410, we again get their position on oaths. Miss Lilian Swinburn, in her introduction to the text of this tract, says, "It is evident from the book that he [the author] was writing from the Lollard point of view, and the tenets which he held may be briefly summed up as follows: . . . The taking of an oath, or swearing in any form, is forbidden by the teaching of Christ."[14] But the actual words of the text

[10] *Ibid.* The statement that God swore is probably made with reference to Psalms 110:4—"Jehovah hath sworn and will not repent . . ." The reference for Christ's swearing is probably Matthew 26:63—"And the high priest said unto him, I adjure thee by the living God . . ." Jesus' answer to this adjuration was simply "Thou hast said." For evidence of Paul's swearing see II Cor. 1:23—"I call God for a witness upon my soul . . ." For other similar phrases by Paul see Romans 1:9; I Cor. 15:31; II Cor. 11:10, 11; 12:19; Gal. 1:20; I Thes. 2:5, 10; Philip. 1:8. For the angel of the Apocalypse see Rev. 10:5–6. For Augustine's discussion of swearing see *Sermon on the Mount,* Bk. I, chap. XVII, in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church,* 1st series, ed. by Philip Schaff (New York, 1886–94), VI, 22 ff. See also *On Lying, op. cit.,* III, 470; and *Letters,* No. XLVII, *op. cit.,* I, 292. For Jerome see Commentary on Jeremiah 4:2, in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus,* ed. by Jacques P. Migne (Paris, 1844–64), XXIV, sec. 864. For Chrysostom see *Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles,* Homily IX, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* XI, 62.

[11] For a similar statement, made by the Lollards in 1395, see *Remonstrances against Romish Corruptions in the Church . . .,* ed. by Josiah Forshall (London, 1851), p. 35.

[12] A discussion of the date and probable authorship of the general prologue is given by Margaret Deansley in *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 266.

[13] *The Holy Bible . . . in the Earliest English Versions Made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and His Followers,* ed. by Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederic Madden (Oxford, 1850), I, 33.

[14] *Lanterne of Light,* ed. by Lilian M. Swinburn (London, 1917), p. xiv.

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which she is editing do not confirm this assertion. To be sure, the author does inveigh against vain swearing and perjury.[15] He even questions the real value of oaths under any circumstances: "If þis peple wil seie þe soþe wiþouten ony ooþ. wherto schulde þei swere & if þei suppose þei wole seie fals. whi schulde þei compelle hem to forswere hem?"[16] And then the author goes on to give us a vivid picture of the way the Lollards were treated in court on this matter of swearing:

> Yit enemyes purswen agen þis comaundement & seyn þat Crist him silf swore & his seintis boþe swere bi þis book þou obstinat man. or ellis þou schalt to prisoun þou schalt swere in oure courte. bicause of þin infirmite as seint Austen haþ taught. whanne þou art constreyned.[17]

The author's reply to this gives the true Lollard position, and it will be especially noted that he does *not* say that swearing in any form is forbidden.

> To þis þat seint Austen seiþ. þou schalt swere compellid we graunten wel aforne a iugge. if ellis men wollen not trowe vs But neiþir on bookis schullen we swere. neiþir bi Goddis creaturis but after þe forme þat God haþ taught . . .[18]

Then after quoting Jeremiah 4:2, he again explains, "But we mai in no case swere bi bookis. as we had seide aforn neiþir bi lyueli creaturis. as bi seyntis or ony suche oþir."[19] It will be seen then that Miss Swinburn's assertion that the Lollards considered all swearing in any form as forbidden by the teaching of Christ is obviously not based upon the text which she is editing, but apparently on the testimony of the Lollards' opponents.[20]

In spite of these explicit denials, however, the Lollards continued to be accused of refusing all oaths. The next place they were thus accused was not in England but in Bohemia, and it was this accusation which was later to become the most persistent and influential. By the turn of the fifteenth century the ideas of Wyclif and his followers were gaining a widespread acceptance

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 88. The author is here quoting Chrysostom, Homilia XII. See *Opera* (Venice, 1548–49), II, 176 verso.

[17] *Lanterne of Light*, p. 89. See Augustine, *Sermon on the Mount*, Bk. I, chap. XVII, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, VI, 22.

[18] *Lanterne of Light*, p. 89.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Even H. B. Workman tends to give the same impression. Speaking of Wyclif, he says, "He maintained the lawfulness of oaths, *contrary to the opinion of his later disciples.*" Herbert B. Workman, *John Wyclif; A Study of the English Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1926), II, 27. Italics are mine. A. H. Newman also gives this same impression when he says, "The Lollards were in agreement with the Waldenses and related parties in their rejection of oaths, warfare, and capital punishment, though they seem to have placed less emphasis upon this set of views than their continental brethren." Albert H. Newman, *A History of Anti-Pedobaptism* (Philadelphia, 1897), pp. 341–42.

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in central Europe. In 1403 the officers of the University of Prague drew up and condemned a list of forty-five heretical propositions ascribed to Wyclif. The forty-third in this group of condemned propositions reads as follows: *"Juramenti illicita sunt, quae fiunt ad roborandum humanos contractus et commercia civilia."*[21] Our confidence in the reliability of these accusations is somewhat shaken when we learn how the list was put together. The first twenty-four of these *Forty-Five Articles* were taken over almost verbatim from a list which had been condemned by ecclesiastical council in London, in 1380.[22] To these were added twenty-one more heretical propositions, which John Hübner, a professor in the University of Prague, claimed to have found in the writings of Wyclif.[23] The proposition that oaths were unlawful was included in this latter list. Nicholas of Lutomysl, a friend and defender of Huss, accused Hübner of having falsely and unjustly extracted these opinions from Wyclif's books. And Huss added that such falsifiers of books deserved to be burned.[24] At the same time Huss was ready to admit that there might be a kernel of truth underlying the distortions of Hübner, and therefore he was unwilling either to accept or renounce these propositions in their entirety.[25] In spite of these protests, however, the *Forty-Five Articles* were allowed to stand as written, and the university council then proceeded to condemn them and to prohibit anyone from teaching or preaching them.[26]

A wider and more substantial recognition was given these *Forty-Five Articles* in 1415 when the Council of Constance again attributed them to Wyclif and gave them the prestige of its own official condemnation.[27] Three years later, in 1418, Pope Martin issued a bull against the followers of Wyclif, Huss, and Jerome, and in this document we again find the *Forty-Five Articles* included and condemned.[28] This bull also contained a list of questions which were to be asked of all persons suspected of Wyclifite heresies; and among these are two questions dealing with the suspect's attitude toward oaths:

XII. Item, Whether he believe and affirm that in no case it is lawful for a man to swear?

XIII. Item, Whether he believe, that at the commandment of a judge, or any

[21] Frantisek Palacký, *Documenta Mag. Ioanis Hus* (Prague, 1869), p. 330.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 328; *cf.* Thomas Netter, *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico*, ed. by Walter W. Shirley (London, 1858), pp. 277–82.
[23] Palacký, p. 178.
[24] *Ibid.*, p. 179.
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 331.
[27] Hermann von der Hardt, *Rerum Concilii Oecumenici Constantiensis* (Berlin, 1697–1742), IV, 149–57.
[28] *Ibid.*, IV, 1518 ff.

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other, it is lawful to take an oath to tell the truth in any convenient cause, although it be but the purging of an infamy, or not?[29]

From all this it will be seen that no matter what the Lollards had to say in their own defense, this accusation of refusing to swear continued to grow and prosper simply by its constant repetition. In 1449 we find Reginald Pecock attributing eleven heresies to the Lollards, and the tenth in this list has to do with their position on oaths. He accuses some of the lay people of holding "that it is vttirli vnleeful eny man forto swere."[30] Rudolf Buddensieg, apparently relying entirely on the evidence given by Pecock and ignoring the direct testimony of the Lollards themselves, says that "They rejected . . . the obligation to take oaths . . ."[31]

The court records of the day show that this charge of rejecting all oaths was also being leveled against individual Lollards. In 1391 William Swinderby was brought to trial before the bishop of Hereford on charges of heresy. Swinderby, listing these charges, tells us that one of them maintained "That I should say that no man owes to sweare for anie thing, but simply withouten oth to affirme or to denie; and if he sweare he sinnes."[32] As we might expect, Swinderby's answer follows the usual pattern:

> This article said I not, that I haue mind of, in this maner: but oft I have said and yet will, that men should not sweare by anie creature by the law of God, and that no man should sweare in idel . . .[33]

In 1408 another Lollard, William Thorpe, was brought to trial before Archbishop Arundel. We get an account of the proceedings from Thorpe's own pen, written a half century later, in 1460.[34] Early in the trial the question of swearing comes up. Thorpe explains his scruple against swearing by the Bible in these words: "Sir, a booke is nothing else but a thinge coupled together of diuers creatures, and to sweare by any creature, both Gods lawe and mans lawe is against it."[35] Then the archbishop questions Thorpe on the articles drawn up against him. "It is here certified against thee," says Arundel,

[29] Quoted by John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. by Stephen R. Cattley (London, 1837–41), III, 564. The original Latin text is given in Hardt, IV, 1528.

[30] Reginald Pecock, *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*, ed. by Churchill Babington (London, 1860), II, 564.

[31] Rudolf Buddensieg, "Lollards," *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, VII, 17–18. He makes a similar statement in *Real-Encyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, XI, 625.

[32] Foxe, III, 119.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] "The Examination of William Thorpe," in Foxe, III, 252–82. The text of this is also given in A. W. Pollard, *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse* (Westminster, 1903), pp. 97–174.

[35] Foxe, III, 254. See also *ibid.*, III, 273–4.

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"that thou preachedst openly at Shrewsburie, that it is not lawfull to sweare in any case."[36] Thorpe denies the charge as stated, but then goes on to say:

> . . . by the authoritie of the Gospell of S. James, and by witnes of diuers saints and doctors, I have preached . . . that it is not lefull in any case to sweare by any creature. . . . I haue also preached and taught . . . that no bodie should sweare in any case, if that without othe . . . hee . . . might excuse him to them that haue power to compell him to sweare, in lefull thing and lawfull. But if a man may not excuse him without oth . . . then he ought to sweare onely by God, taking him only that is soothfastnesse, for to witnes the soothfastnes.[37]

Then, after more discussion, Thorpe says, "Sir, since I may not now otherwise be beleeved, but by swearing . . . I am redie, by the word of God . . . to sweare."[38] Whereupon the clerk asks Thorpe to put his hand upon the Book and take his charge. But Thorpe scruples at putting his hand on the Bible, and the discussion again shoots off on a tangent over the question of whether, properly speaking, the word of God can be touched at all.[39] The upshot of all this was that Thorpe never did take an oath. At the end of the trial he expressed himself as willing to submit to "holy church," but only in so far as its ordinances agreed with the commandments of God and the Apostles. This, however, the archbishop refused to accept; and so after promises and threats had both failed, William Thorpe was thrown into prison.[40]

In the account of this trial we get, I think, at the crux of the difficulty and misunderstanding between the Lollards and their opponents. Most Lollards were willing enough to swear in a needful cause but not in the form and manner which at that time was in general use. Their opponents on the other hand were unwilling to change the time-honored form of the oath to suit the scruples of the Lollards. As a result of this impasse, the Lollards continued to refuse to take the oaths as they were then worded, and their opponents continued to accuse them of refusing all oaths whatsoever.

From the evidence so far presented it will be clear that the Lollards were virtually unanimous in their attitude toward oaths. But Lollardy was an expansive movement rather than an organized sect with a clearly defined creed; and as might be expected, therefore, we do find a few scattered Lollards who apparently advocated a refusal of all oaths. Walter Brute, a learned layman and friend of William Swinderby's, was brought to trial before the bishop of Hereford in 1392.[41] He was charged among other things with maintaining "That it is not lawful for Christians, for any cause in any

[36] *Ibid.*, III, 273. [37] *Ibid.* [38] *Ibid.*, III, 275. [39] *Ibid.*, III, 275 ff.
[40] *Ibid.*, III, 281–82. [41] *Ibid.*, III, 131 ff.

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case, to swear by the Creator, neither by the creature."[42] In his answer Brute does not deny the charge but simply defends his position and explains why he holds it.

As concerning oaths, I believe and obey the doctrine of the Almighty God, and my master Jesus Christ, who teacheth, that christian men, in affirmation of a truth, should pass the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees of the Old Testament, or else he excludeth them from the kingdom of heaven.[43]

Then after quoting Matthew 5:33-34, Brute continues:

Therefore, as the perfection of the ancient men of the Old Testament was, not to forswear themselves, so the perfection of christian men is, not to swear at all, because they are so commanded of Christ . . .[44]

This is the earliest and clearest statement I have found of a Lollard rejecting all oaths. Indeed, I have been able to find only two other notices of this sort, and both of these are somewhat meager and inconclusive. A Lollard tract of unknown date and authorship, called *The Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman,* has this to say on the subject:[45]

Lord, thou geuest vs a commandement of truth, in bidding vs say yea yea, nay nay, and sweare for nothing. Thou geue vs another of poorenes. But Lord he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar on earth, hath ybroken both these commandments, for he maketh a law to compel men to sweare, and by his lawes he teacheth that a man to saue his life, may forsweare and lye. And so Lord, through comfort of him and his lawes, the people ne dreadeth not to sweare and to lye, ne oft times to forsweare them. Lord here is little truth.[46]

And finally, we learn that one Margery Backster was accused, in 1429 or thereabouts, of saying that all swearing was wrong. A witness brought in against her, quoted her as making the following statement:

Dame, beware of the bee, for every bee will sting; and therefore take heed you swear not, neither by God, neither by our lady, neither by any other saint; and if ye do contrary, the bee will sting your tongue and venom your soul.[47]

Foxe tells us that he does not know what happened to Margery Backster after

[42] *Ibid.*, III, 135. [43] *Ibid.*, III, 186. [44] *Ibid.*

[45] I have been unable to find any modern discussion of this tract. Foxe says that he does not know who wrote it, and adds that it was "written as it seemeth about Wickliffe's time." Foxe, II, 727–28. Sir Thomas More mentions it in "The Confutacion of Tyndales Aunswere made Anno 1532," in *The Works of Sir Thomas More* (London, 1557), p. 343.

[46] Foxe, II, 739–40. [47] *Ibid.*, III, 594.

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her trial; and so we cannot even be sure that she acknowledged the truth of the accusation as made.[48]

From all this evidence it will be seen that the assertion that Lollards refused all oaths rests in the first place on the testimony of their opponents, often repeated and as often denied by the Lollards themselves; and in the second place on the testimony of two and possibly three Lollards. Walter Brute, I think, quite clearly felt that all swearing was wrong. The author of *The Plowman's Prayer* was probably of the same opinion. Margery Backster may or may not have had the same idea. A mere accusation by her opponents is certainly not conclusive evidence. On the other side, we find the Lollards themselves constantly denying the charge and explaining in clear and simple words just what their position was. It seems to me therefore that the only safe conclusion to draw is that most Lollards refused to swear by creatures but were prepared when necessary to swear by God, while a very few Lollards apparently refused to swear under any circumstances.

II

We must now try to discover why it was that the Lollards refused to swear by creatures. The clearest account of the reason for this scruple is given by the author of the *Lanterne of Light*. Quoting from Chrysostom, he says, "He þat sweriþ bi a creature doiþ ydolatrie . . . for what euer it be þat a man sweriþ bi þat þing he makiþ his god."[49] And we have already seen how William Thorpe included the Bible in the class of created things.[50]

As Thorpe had intimated, the Lollards could point to canonical authority for their position. The Canon Law had said that if a priest swore by creatures he should be severely reproved, and that if he persisted in this evil he should be excommunicated.[51] It must be said, however, that by the word "creatures" the lawyers and doctors of the church meant something rather different from what the Lollards meant by it. The *Corrector* of Burchard of Worms had said, "If [thou hast sworn] by heaven or by the earth or by the sun or by the moon or by any other creature, thou shalt do penance for fifteen days on bread

[48] From John Knox we learn that thirty Lollards of Kyle were arrested in 1494 on charges of heresy. Among other things they were accused of holding "That into na Cais it is lawfull to sweir." John Knox, *The Historie of the Reformatioun . . . within the Realm of Scotland*, ed. by David Buchanan (Edinburgh, 1732), p. 3. But here again we do not know whether these Lollards acknowledged or denied the charge.

[49] *Lanterne of Light*, p. 90; quoting from Chrysostom, Homilia XII. *Opera*, II, 176 verso.

[50] See p. 673 above.

[51] *Decretum Gratiani*, II, Causa XXII, Quaest. I, c. 9: *"Clericum per creaturas iurantem, accerime obiurgandum; si perstiterit in vitio, excommunicandum." Corpus Juris Canonici*, ed. by Just Henning Boehmer (Magdeburg, 1747), col. 740.

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and water."[52] The canonists would hardly have agreed with the Lollards that this word "creatures" was intended to include such things as the Bible, relics, and saints. In fact the Canon Law does specifically refer to this question of swearing by the Gospel. "In case some dispute has arisen," says the Canon Law, "whoever swears by God seems to do a mere trifle. But whoever swears by the Gospel seems to have done something of greater moment. To these likewise it should be said: foolish ones, the Holy Scriptures have come into being because of God, not God because of the Scriptures."[53] Here, of course, swearing by the Gospel is not forbidden; it is simply pointed out that, contrary to popular opinion, oaths by the Gospel are not more but less awesome and powerful than oaths by God. Thomas Aquinas explained and justified this practice of swearing by things other than God in these words:

> . . . an oath is chiefly referred to God Whose testimony is invoked; and secondarily an appeal by oath is made to certain creatures considered, not in themselves, but as reflecting the Divine truth. Thus we swear by the Gospel, i.e. by God Whose truth is made known in the Gospel; and by the saints, who believed this truth and kept it.[54]

On the face of it then it would appear that the only difference between the Lollards and their opponents in this matter was in their varying interpretations of the word "creatures." The Lollards maintained that the Bible, saints, and relics should be included in the canonical prohibition of swearing by creatures; the orthodox denied this interpretation. But of course this is a tremendous oversimplification of the issue. Actually it was not so much the Lollards' heterodox ideas on the subject that got them into trouble as it was their refusal to conform to an accepted pattern of behavior; it was this nonconformity in practice which aroused the opposition and censure of the orthodox authorities. Furthermore, the question of oaths was only one of many matters on which the Lollards and their opponents disagreed; but it was a convenient rallying point for both groups, a focus for their mutual suspicions and hatreds. For the authorities one of the easiest ways to get at the Lollards was to offer them an oath. For the Lollards one of the easiest ways to defy the authorities was to refuse to swear by creatures. And so we find

[52] J. T. McNeill and H. M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York, 1938), p. 329; Latin text in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, CXL, col. 956.

[53] *Decretum Gratiani*, II, Causa XXII, Quaest. I, c. 11: *"Si aliqua causa fuerit, modicum videtur facere, qui iurat per Deum. Qui autem iurat per euangelium, maius aliquid fecisse videtur. Quibus dicendum est: stulti, Scripturae sanctae propter Deum sunt, non Deus propter Scripturas." Corpus Juris Canonici*, col. 740.

[54] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II, II, Quaest. 89, Art. 6; in English translation by Dominican Fathers (London, 1912–22), XI, 145.

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both groups using this one rather trivial issue as a point of honor from which neither was willing to retreat.

III

During the first third of the sixteenth century we get at least two echoes of this Lollard controversy on oaths. In 1514 Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor of London, got himself into trouble with the spiritual courts and was thrown into prison to await trial on charges of heresy.[55] There, while his trial was pending, he was found dead under circumstances which suggested murder or suicide. Before his death a list of charges brought against him had included the following:

> That the said Richard Hun hath in his keeping divers English books prohibited and damned by the law; as the Apocalypse in English, epistles and gospels in English, Wickliff's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors.[56]

After his death a heresy trial was held, during the course of which a list of thirteen additional charges was brought against the deceased defendant, and we are told that this list was collected from the prologue to Hunne's copy of the Lollard Bible.[57] The eighth in this list of posthumous charges reads as follows:

> . . . that every man, swearing by our lady, or any other saint or creature, giveth more honour to the saints than to the Holy Trinity; and so he saith they be idolaters.[58]

The evidence is too meager to prove that Hunne himself was opposed to oaths by creatures, but it does show that the ecclesiastical authorities of his day still associated this heresy with Lollardy. Furthermore, this association must also have been kept fresh in the popular mind, for we learn that after the charges against Hunne had been presented in court, they were caused "to be openly read the next Sunday following by the preacher at Paul's Cross . . ." and the congregation then admonished against them.[59]

In 1532 we get another case of a man suspected both of Lollardy and of refusal to swear. In that year John Lambert, friend of Bilney, Tyndale, and Firth, and chaplain to the English community in Antwerp, was brought before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, for examination. A long list of questions was asked him. Question 39 read as follows: "Whether thou be-

[55] *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 1921–22), XXVIII, 261.
[56] Foxe, IV, 184.
[57] *Ibid.*, IV, 186. *Cf.* p. 670 above, and note 12.
[58] Foxe, IV, 186.
[59] *Ibid.*

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lievest that John Wickliff . . . John Huss . . . and Jerome were heretics . . .?"[60] And immediately following came this question: "Item, whether thou believest or affirmest, that it is not lawful in any case to swear?"[61] Lambert answered the first of these questions by saying, "I know not determinately whether they be heretics or no . . .;" and to the second question he replied, "I neither so do believe, nor affirm, nor ever did."[62] Here again the value of this evidence is simply to show that in the ecclesiastical mind of 1532 Lollardy and the controversy over oaths were still linked together.[63]

Meanwhile in 1529 we get evidence of the Lollard attitude toward oaths being set side by side with a similar idea from the Continent. In that year Bishop Tunstall drew up a list of prohibited books to help his investigators in suppressing heresy, and in this list are two books dealing with the question of oaths.[64] One is *The Examination of William Thorpe,* a Lollard work with which we are already familiar. The other is a Continental book, *In Catabaptisarum Strophas Elenchus,* written by Huldreich Zwingli in 1527. In it Zwingli says that an oath should not be taken by "any created thing," but only "by God" himself.[65] Here then we have two books, one Lollard the other Continental, both dealing with the question of oaths, both opposed to oaths by creatures, both prohibited in the same episcopal list. From this point on it becomes difficult if not impossible to tell an old Lollard influence from a new Continental influence.

[60] *Ibid.,* V, 183.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] *Ibid.,* V, 220.
[63] As late as 1549 this connection was still being made. In that year John Bradford wrote: "If a man blame a papist now for swearing by God, Oh, saith he, I will be no loller . . ." *Writings of John Bradford,* ed. by Aubrey Townsend (Cambridge, 1848–53), I, 11.
[64] A copy of this list is given by S. R. Cattley in an editorial note to Foxe, IV, 765, and the original is to be found in Tunstall's Episcopal Register, folio 143.
[65] *Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli,* ed. by Samuel M. Jackson (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 214. For the original text see *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke,* ed. by Emil Egli *et al.* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1904—), VI, 150. Another Continental book to appear in England with this same opposition to oaths by creatures was John Calvin's *A short instruction for to arme all good Christian people agaynst the pestiferous errours of the common secte of Anabaptistes* (London, 1549). See pp. 77–78, unnumbered. *Cf.* Calvin, *Opera,* ed. by Wilhem Baum *et al.* (Brunswick, 1863–1900), VII, cols. 45 ff. It is interesting to note that both these Continental books were directed against the Anabaptists, who held that all oaths were wrong. While I cannot prove it, I think there is reason to believe that this extreme Anabaptist position was one of the factors which influenced Zwingli and Calvin to maintain that an oath by God alone was permissable. In other words, the orthodox reformers in sanctioning oaths by God alone were taking a middle ground between the Anabaptists who denied all oaths, and the Roman Catholics who allowed oaths by creatures as well as by God. I have found no clear evidence that the English Reformers were similarly influenced on this particular point; but there is perhaps a hint of it in John Hooper, when he says that a man who refuses an oath ". . . ought rather to be judged an Anabaptist than a Christian." And then in the next sentence he says that an oath ". . . ought to be taken in the only name of the living God . . ." John Hooper, *Later Writings,* ed. by Charles Nevinson (Cambridge, 1852), pp. 54–55.

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IV

While the more important issues of the English Reformation were being discussed and settled, the question of oaths by creatures did not pass unnoticed. Sometime in the forties, probably about 1543, there appeared a pamphlet by John Bale entitled *A Christian Exhortation unto Customable Swearers.*[66] And in this tract the question of oaths by creatures again comes up. After speaking of needless and frivolous swearing, the author says:

> Muche more execrable is the wyckednesse of them that sweare by the creatures. . . . In the lawe is it . . . strayghtly commaunded, yt none shuld be taken to witnesse in the trueth but God the auctor of all truth. He therefore that sweareth . . . by any other thing els, he maketh it equall to the verytie, and so alloweth it for his God. . . . A shameful ydolatour . . .[67]

Where did Bale get this idea from—the Lollards, or the Continent, or *de novo?* It is almost impossible to say definitely. At the probable time he wrote the tract, he was an exile in Germany,[68] and we might therefore assume a Continental influence. But during this same period he was also publishing a group of Lollard martyrologies,[69] including *The Examination of William Thorpe,* and a Lollard influence therefore seems more likely.

Shortly after the publication of Bale's pamphlet, we find John Hooper expressing a similar opposition to oaths by creatures. In 1548 he published *A Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments,* and in his exposition of the Third Commandment he says, "Those that swear by the name of God, and likewise by the name of saints, offend this commandment. As when the form of their oath is thus: 'As help me God and all the saints.' For the oath must be only in the name of God."[70]

Where did Hooper get his idea from? Again, as with John Bale, we cannot say for sure. But if one is inclined to attribute Bale's position to Lollard influence, one is inclined to attribute Hooper's position to Continental influence, and particularly to Henry Bullinger. From Hooper's own pen we learn that he knew and admired Bullinger, that he read his works, and that

[66] For the probable date of this pamphlet see A. W. Pollard, *A Short Title Catalogue of Books printed in England . . ., 1475–1640* (London, 1926), Nos. 1280, 1281. See also Ronald B. McKerrow and Frederic S. Ferguson, *Title-page Borders Used in England and Scotland, 1485–1640* (London, 1932), p. 34.

[67] John Bale, *A christen exhortacion unto customable swearers* (London? 1543?), pp. 18 verso and 19 recto, unnumbered. There is a copy of this tract in the Harvard Microfilm Collection.

[68] *Dictionary of National Biography,* I, 961.

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] "A Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments," *Early Writings of John Hooper,* ed. by Samuel Carr (Cambridge, 1843), pp. 334–35.

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he considered himself an enthusiastic follower of the Zurich reformer.[71] We learn further that Bullinger, like Calvin and Zwingli, was opposed to oaths by creatures.[72] Finally we learn that at the very period when Hooper was writing his *Declaration of the Ten Holy Commandments,* he was in Zurich visiting Bullinger.[73] All this does not prove that Hooper got his idea on oaths from Bullinger, but in the absence of any evidence of Lollard influence we may assume that Bullinger was the probable source of influence.

Two years later, in 1550, Hooper began a campaign against oaths by creatures which was soon carried to a successful conclusion. The starting point for his campaign was furnished by the form of the oath in the ordinal attached to the first prayer book of Edward VI, published in 1549. In this ordinal was an oath of supremacy to be administered to all clerics at the time of their ordination, which ended with the words "so help me GOD, all saints and the holy Evangelist."[74] To these words Hooper took almost immediate exception. In a Lenten sermon preached before King Edward on March 5, 1550, Hooper explains his position at some length. "To swear," says Hooper, "is to protest and promise the thing we swear to be true before him that knoweth the thoughts and cogitations of the heart: that knoweth only and solely God: therefore is it blasphemy to swear or attribute the same to any creature, as they do that sweareth by creatures."[75] Then after giving scriptural and canonical support for his position, Hooper says, "I have tarried the longer in this matter, because I happened to see of late a certain book for the making of deacons, priests, and bishops, wherein is required an oath by saints; whereat I did not a little wonder. And how it is suffered, or who is the author of that book, I well know not."[76]

Hooper's censure of the ordinal did not pass unnoticed by the ecclesiastical authorities. Writing to Bullinger on March 27, 1550, he says:

> . . . on the fourth day after the lecture an accusation was brought against me before the council by the archbishop of Canterbury. I appeared before them. The archbishop spoke against me with great severity on account of my having censured the form of the oath. I entreated the judges to hear with impartiality upon what

[71] *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation* . . ., ed. by Hastings Robinson (Cambridge, 1846–47), I, 33 ff., 40 ff., 50 ff. Hooper also here acknowledges his indebtedness to Zwingli. *Ibid.,* 33.

[72] For Bullinger's position on oaths see *The Decades of Henry Bullinger,* ed. by Thomas Harding (Cambridge, 1849–52), I, 248. For Calvin's position see *Opera,* VII, cols. 45 ff.

[73] *Original Letters,* I, 34, 42, 64, 254.

[74] *The Form and Manner of Making and Consecrating Archbishops, Priests, and Deacons* (London, 1549). Reprinted in *The Two Liturgies . . . with Other Documents Set Forth by Authority in the Reign of King Edward VI,* ed. by Joseph Ketley (Cambridge, 1844), p. 169.

[75] Hooper, *Early Writings,* p. 477.

[76] *Ibid.,* pp. 478–79.

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authority I had done so. The question was long and sharply agitated between the bishops and myself; but at length the end and issue was for the glory of God.[77]

Hooper thus felt that the issue had been favorably settled; but events were soon to show that he would again have to argue his position before the council.

At Easter time, immediately following the Lenten sermons preached at court, King Edward offered Hooper the bishopric of Gloucester.[78] But Hooper refused the appointment. In a letter to Bullinger he explained that he had rejected the offer because "of the shameful and impious form of the oath, which all who choose to undertake the function of a bishop are compelled to put up with, and also on account of those Aaronic habits which they still retain in that calling, and are used to wear, not only at the administration of the sacrament, but also at public prayers."[79] When the king heard Hooper's reasons for refusing the offer, he summoned him to appear before the council and explain his position in more detail.[80] This Hooper did on the twentieth of July, and we are told by Martin Micronius that he "convinced the king by many arguments that the oath should be taken in the name of God alone. . . . It was so agreeable to the godly king, that with his own pen he erased the clause of the oath which sanctioned swearing by any creatures."[81] Micronius adds that "Nothing could be more godly than this act, or more worthy of a Christian king."

The problem of oaths by creatures was thus apparently settled.[82] Two years later the second Edwardian prayer book appeared and with it a revised ordinal, in which the form of the oath of supremacy was changed. In place of the words "so help me GOD, all saints and the holy Evangelist," we now find "so help me God through Jesus Christ."[83] We cannot be entirely sure just why this change was made, because the records of the convocation which put forth the revised prayer book of 1552 were lost in the Great London Fire.[84] But it seems reasonably safe to assume that the change was prompted by Hooper's recent opposition to the form of the oath contained in the 1549 ordinal.[85]

Henceforth this rejection of oaths by creatures became a standard article

[77] *Original Letters*, I, 81. [78] *Ibid.*, I, 87.
[79] Hooper to Bullinger, London, June 29, 1550, *Original Letters*, I, 87. [80] *Ibid.*
[81] Micronius to Bullinger, London, Aug. 28, 1550, *ibid.*, II, 566–67. See also *ibid.*, II, 416.
[82] Hooper's objection to the vestments still remained. For the story of this dispute and its final settlement see *ibid.*, *passim*, and Gairdner, III, 256–76.
[83] *The Two Liturgies*, p. 339.
[84] Edgar C. S. Gibson, *The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England* (London, 1896–97), I, 15.
[85] Hooper, however, was not the only English Reformer of this period to warn against oaths by creatures. In the same year that the new ordinal appeared, we find Hugh Latimer preaching a sermon in which he says, ". . . we may swear by nothing but by God . . ." *Works of Hugh Latimer*, ed. by George E. Corrie (Cambridge, 1844–45), II, 64.

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of faith among orthodox Protestants.[86] It was included in Alexander Nowell's semiofficial catechism of 1570.[87] We also find it given a place in the Westminster Confession of Faith.[88] In 1593 Lancelot Andrewes, with his Anglo-Catholic leanings, could still argue that oaths by creatures were permitted. "It is ruled in divinity," said he, "that such things as presently are reduced to God will bear an oath."[89] But all genuine Protestants were opposed to this line of reasoning.

In concluding this history of opposition to oaths by creatures, and in confirmation of what has already been said, it will be interesting to note the difference in the wording of official oaths before and after 1552. In 1532 the oath of the clergy to the king ended with the words "So God me help, and all saints."[90] The various oaths of fidelity and supremacy required by acts passed in the reign of Henry VIII end with "So helpe you God all Sayntes and the Holy Evangelystes."[91] In 1540 a bishop at his consecration was required to take an oath ending with the words "So helpe you God, all sainctes, and the holy evangelistes."[92] In 1549 two heretics, John Assheton and Michael Thombes, were required to take an oath of recantation ending with "so helpe me God, and thes hollie evangelistes."[93]

Turning now to the form of oaths required after 1552, we find the Elizabethan oath of supremacy of 1559 concluding with "So helpe me God and by the Contentes of this Booke."[94] This represents a slight falling off from the purity of the oath given in the 1552 ordinal. But by 1605 the oath of allegiance and obedience to King James restores the form to the simple words "So help me God."[95] The "Etcetera Oath," passed by convocation in 1640, closes with "So help me God in Jesus Christ."[96] And finally the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 ends with these words: "And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all hearts, with

[86] It is interesting to note that section 107 of the Imperial Recess of Augsburg of 1555 ordained that all oaths administered in courts, to Catholics as well as to Protestants, should be taken simply in the name of God and the Holy Gospel. Emil Sehling, "Oath," *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia,* VIII, 211. This was to satisfy the emperor's Protestant subjects, who refused oaths by saints.

[87] Alexander Nowell, *A Catechism Written in Latin by Alexander Nowell,* ed. by G. E. Corrie (Cambridge, 1853), pp. vii, 14, 128. See also Thomas Rogers, *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England* (1586), ed. by John J. S. Perowne (Cambridge, 1854), p. 358.

[88] *Westminster Confession of Faith,* chap. XXII, art. II, in *Creeds of Christendom,* ed. by Philip Schaff (6th ed., New York, 1931), III, 649–50.

[89] *Ninety-Six Sermons by . . . Lancelot Andrewes* (Oxford, 1841–43), V, 74.

[90] David Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae . . .* (London, 1737), III, 755.

[91] 26 Henry VIII. c. 2; 28 Henry VIII. c. 7. no. 15; 28 Henry VIII. c. 10. no. 6; 35 Henry VIII. c. 1. no. 7.

[92] Wilkins, III, 856. See also *ibid.,* III, 871 for a similar oath used at the consecration of the archbishop of York in 1544.

[93] *Ibid.,* IV, 41, 42. [94] 1 Elizabeth c. 1. no. 9. [95] 3 James I c. 4. no. 9.

[96] Daniel Neal, *The History of the Puritans . . .* (London, 1732–38), II, 350.

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a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed."[97]

In conclusion, a word should be said about the roles played by Lollardy and by Continental influence in this particular phase of the English Reformation. There is evidence that the Lollard opposition to oaths by creatures continued well down into the Reformation proper. There is also evidence that from about 1529 onward a similar Continental idea was present in England. I think we may therefore assume that it was both these forces together, rather than either one of them alone, which finally succeeded in changing the form of the oath.

[97] John Rushworth, *Historical Collections* . . . (London, 1659–1701), V, 479.

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The National Bank in 1836. A Partisan Appraisal

ABRAHAM H. VENIT*

THE appended document was found in the Martin Collection of the Bronson Papers at the New York Public Library. It presents a shrewd, if bitingly partisan, appraisal of the political prospects for passage of a proposed national banking project to succeed the expiring Second Bank of the United States. Seen in proper perspective, it fits into a pattern of many years of unremitting effort by Isaac Bronson to secure, in the enactment of some such measure, the incorporation of those banking theories to the development and elaboration of which he had long devoted himself.[1]

This memorandum was obviously addressed to Bronson as a confidential analysis of the political situation relative to his plans. The references to the resignation of Clinch,[2] to Cass's resignation as Secretary of War and his anxiety to assume his ministership to France,[3] and to Van Buren's desire to await the impending election fix the date as between the end of September and early November, 1836.

The problem of authorship resolves itself to an overwhelming probability, if not an absolute certainty. The hostility toward the administration points to a Whig; the author says he has been on the Washington scene for fourteen sessions; the scathing characterizations of those discussed disqualify them as possibilities. The one correspondent with whom Bronson was in close contact at the time who meets all these specifications was Elisha Whittlesey, Whig representative from Ohio. Born in Connecticut, Bronson's native state, Whittlesey had moved to Ohio in 1806 and had been elected to the eighteenth

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[1] The banking theories of Bronson and the background which illuminates the context of person and circumstance surrounding the document are set forth more fully in my "Isaac Bronson: His Banking Theory and the Financial Controversies of the Jacksonian Period," *Journal of Economic History*, V (November, 1945), 201–14.

[2] Brig. Gen. Duncan Clinch resigned September 21, 1836. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), I, 310.

[3] Cass resigned October 5, 1836, and assumed his new post October 24. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774–1927* (Washington, 1928), p. 794.

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and to the seven succeeding Congresses, serving from March 4, 1823, to July 9, 1838. By October, 1836, he would have served the seven terms, or the fourteen sessions, referred to.[4] Common ties that migrating New Englanders frequently maintained with their native state may well account for the relationship that developed between Bronson and Whittlesey. The only difficulty with identifying the latter as the author is the lack of concordance in hand; if the document is merely a copy of an original in Whittlesey's hand, the difficulty evaporates.

The candid contents of the "Memoranda" require little by way of exegesis: the tart and trenchant characterizations are as free of ambiguity as they are of subtlety, and the personalities discussed scarcely need identification. Amos Kendall and Francis P. Blair, of course, were in the inner circle around Jackson; Reuben M. Whitney as a director of the United States Bank had helped lead the fight on Biddle.[5] Levi Woodbury, John Forsyth, and Mahlon Dickerson were Secretaries of Treasury, State, and Navy, respectively; Senators Silas Wright and Nathaniel Tallmadge were from New York. "Lyn" refers to Lewis F. Linn, senator from Missouri; and Thomas Ewing was senator from Ohio. Benton, Calhoun, Webster, Clay, and Van Buren were too long on the national scene to require comment. Churchill C. Cambreleng was House administration leader and chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means.[6]

Memoranda

The position of parties and things upon the plan of adopting the fiscal Bank so far as I can judge or ascertain are as follows.

The President	Having *through Kendall* adopted the Deposite Bank system, is still disposed to continue the plan as he only thinks through Kendall on the subject and is grossly ignorant of details & principles of currency and banking.
Kendall	Believes, or *affects* to believe the practicability of the deposite bank scheme, and of Bentons fool hard money notions; if he is honest in this belief, he is a greater fool than I take him to be, I think he is corrupt and uses the scheme to forward party purposes, inasmuch as the President thinks through Kendal, I should have named K first, in this mem*a*.
Blair	He is with Kendall and is corrupt body & Soul
Whitney	Heaven save the mark, believes the scheme of deposite banks pays him a large salary, and of course is perfect. He is a consummate Knave and has power over

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1696.

[5] Ralph C. H. Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States* (Chicago, 1903), pp. 275–77.

[6] The following document is reproduced with such errors of spelling, punctuation, and structure as appear in the original.

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Woodbury	Who *knows* that the present plan *must fail,* but he is bound hand and foot, and dares not move with honesty of purpose. (N.B. There is a rumor of Woodbury's *quitting* the Treasury)
of Forsyth & Dickerson	I know nothing, they appear but little on the real stage– *Cass* wants to gett off to France, and out of the Melé his utter incompetency as War Minister has brought about his ears
Wright & Talmadge	*Know* and *feel* the utter fallacy of the present deposite plan, and they would, if not bound hand and foot by *Party,* go right; they may do so yet.
Benton	Being a monomaniac on the subject of Banks, looks at *all* like a mad dog does at Water. He is a strange compound of Knave & Fool.
Lyn	Is well convinced of the utility of the proposed plan, but dares not move, contrary to *Benton* & *Party.*
Calhoun Webster Clay & Ewing	All know the extent of the danger of leaving the deposites as they now are, in banks without any security, and conducted on wrong principles, but they will not interfere. They will let the disease become as bad as possible, and then cry out, *unskillful surgeons.*
Van Buren	Knows perfectly well the absolute incapacity of the present deposite Banks, to carry on the business of the Government, with safety to themselves, the people, & the Government; but he dares not move an inch to the right or left, until *after* the election– such is his habitual deception, and concealment of his sentiments, that there is no one who can tell his opinion, much less his intentions– He believes that men can be governed by their interest, and when he finds those who cannot be used thus, he avoids them, and this is the reason he has no *friends* who are independent. I speak of political friends– I therefore believe that his *imbecile tool*
Cambreleng,	will dodge the question, by delaying his report (if indeed he reports at all) till it is too late to act on it this session, and then hold out to the people the hope of better arrangements next session, thus gaining time for the election.

Under the foregoing belief, there remains in my mind but little hope of getting the *administration party* to act on the proposed plan, and the question then arises how far it is politic, to put it into the hands of the opposition in Congress at this juncture. My conviction is, that such is the best course, provided Cambreleng will not *immediately* report, and I would put it into the hands of moderate opposition men—men who have even the confidence of administration men (individually) This had better be done in both houses, so as to spread the matter fully before the people, in an authentic shape. It is the dread of this alone, which can operate on *the party*– Such a mass of corrupt imbecility, and brute ignorance, as is now in the H. of Repts. I never saw got together in Congress;* and the fear of the people alone, can be made to operate on such an inert mass, destitute alike of moral feeling and shame. If the plain naked fact, that security to the Government

*I have been here during fourteen Sessions

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for the deposites was offered, accompanied by emolument to the people, arising from payment of interest on the deposites, can be brought fairly before the public, and that the *administration rejected the plan,* the people will not be so blind as to adhere to them. Fortunately it is not an abstract question, which can be sophisticated & mystified, it appeals directly to the every day business of the community, and the proposition is so plain "*Security* & *profit* to Government for public money" "safety and emolument to the people in Bank issues" that it is irresistable; and the question will immediately arise, why not adopt the plan? There is no evading this question; the answer will be, the deposite banks which pay no interest for the public money, which are unsound and in a dangerous state, that can neither transact the public fiscal business, nor regulate private exchanges & issues, prevented the adoption of the plan. That *R M Whitneys interest prevented it.* That Mr Kendall Mr Blair & the other Van Buren and [word illegible] prevented it. That Mr. Van Buren's creature Mr. Cambreleng prevented it & that the Sec of the Treasury dare not say nay, to the tribe who control the matter. As to the *Chief,* he is as the King on his death bed, all look to his successor. No one cares what Jackson thinks now.

The administration have enough to stagger under, two Indian Wars, disgrace in one beyond endurance, an imbecile War Minister, a puerile stupid chief Major Gen'l & Scott losing *caste,* and the whole army under him feeling degraded, Clinch resigning who will of course *tell tales out of school now,* and many other matters–

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Reviews of Books

General History

MY THREE YEARS WITH EISENHOWER: THE PERSONAL DIARY OF CAPTAIN HARRY C. BUTCHER, USNR, NAVAL AIDE TO GENERAL EISENHOWER, 1942 TO 1945. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1946. Pp. xvi, 911. $5.00.)

General Eisenhower occupies an almost unique place in military history. He was charged with that most difficult of all tasks, the waging of a coalition war. He was in command of armies of diversified nationalities, a polylingual staff, and field commanders of highly developed egos. He was the buffer between intricate combat operations, on the one hand, and delicate political situations, on the other. Never altogether a soldier nor altogether a statesman, he needed the qualities of both in order to maintain a nice balance between conflicting theories of the conduct of war and equally conflicting theories of high-level politics. He possessed limited authority, being servant of the Combined Chiefs of Staff as regards the larger strategy of the war and, as well, conciliator, co-ordinator, and, in name at least, supreme commander of all Allied forces, first in the Mediterranean and later in western Europe. His were tasks to test the soul of the truly great—requiring integrity, good humor, disinterestedness, persistence, and moral courage of a high order. That he possessed a large measure of these is obvious from the results, for no coalition war has ever been brought to a successful conclusion so expeditiously, with so few disruptive forces, and with such notable economy of life. Despite criticism to the contrary—some of which is justified and some of which savors of sniping—Dwight D. Eisenhower has earned a place as one of the great captains of history.

Captain Butcher shared Eisenhower's bed and board for the entire period of the latter's service overseas. At General Eisenhower's direction he kept a diary of day-to-day happenings at what ultimately became Supreme Allied Headquarters. The resulting chronicle should have been a historical document of the highest importance. In some respects it is, but in most respects it is highly disappointing. Neither General Eisenhower nor Captain Butcher seems to have been altogether clear what purpose the record was supposed to serve. The former seems to have favored a fairly formal staff record "showing dates, places, and reminders of interesting events, official and personal." The latter had some conception of the magnificent opportunity which was his, but no clear idea of how to capitalize on it: "I had a ringside seat for a big show [writes Butcher] and I knew how lucky I was to be a firsthand witness to world history in the making. I had something of

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a feeling that I was a reporter for the general public, but at that time [July, 1942, when the diary was started] I had no clear idea as to whether or how the material ever would be used." The result is an unconscionably long book which lacks a sense of proportion, is slipshod in reporting the vitally important, and exasperatingly detailed in reporting the trivial. A historian using this book will do a good deal of intellectual placer mining, sorting an enormous amount of sand for a relatively few nuggets.

In fairness to Mr. Butcher it must be pointed out that he was not a historian and was not writing for historians. He was looking to a larger reading public, which undoubtedly will be absorbed in the trivia, the gossip, and the human interest which occupy so much of the pages. But there also is a good deal of raw material here, not for the writers of military history alone, but for chroniclers of the larger phases of the war. Few volumes, for example, give so clear a picture of the manner in which the grand strategy of nations, the force of great personalities, the clash of personal ambitions, and other nonmilitary factors enter into the conduct of a war. On certain specific questions vital to an understanding of the events of 1942 to 1945 there is revealing material: the manner in which fear of a Soviet collapse dominated Allied military policy in 1942; the dominant role played by Mr. Roosevelt in the decision to fight in North Africa before 1943; the basic conflicts between British and American staffs concerning the timing, magnitude, and chances for success of a landing on the French coast; the complicated problem of dealing with Giraud, de Gaulle, and Darlan; the highly articulate views of Winston Churchill on military strategy; the role played by civilians like Harry Hopkins at Casablanca, Teheran, Yalta, and other conferences. There are invaluable, although not detailed or colorful, portraits of some of the war's military leaders like Marshall, Montgomery, Bradley, Patton, and Alexander. On these matters, as well as others, no historian can afford to overlook the source materials provided by Mr. Butcher's book.

On the other hand, the volume will have to be used with the utmost caution. To begin with, it is not a true diary. There were a good many consecutive days when no entries were made; an attempt was made later to supply some of the missing entries from memory, from correspondence, and from documentary records. These ex post facto entries are of doubtful value and authenticity. The author says he was so busy at times that an "occasional date" is necessarily missing. But there are no entries at all, with one trivial exception, for the first week of the Ardennes engagement and a suspicious paucity of essential information for the whole period of the Battle of the Bulge. There is no way of telling the extent to which, in cutting the diary from over a million to about 640,000 words, Mr. Butcher was guided by considerations other than brevity; indeed, he admits eliminating material, properly enough, which would violate personal confidences or would prejudice Anglo-American relations. There is, too, a good deal of hearsay reporting which can have little value as evidence—such, for example, as Elliot

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Roosevelt's second or third-hand account of the Teheran conference. One gets a feeling, however, that Butcher is honest if not historically minded or historically trained. He says specifically that he did not engage in any "second-guessing" and therefore did not "edit" his daily record. And he was not censored by Eisenhower, who refused to examine the finished manuscript. Because of his long friendship with Eisenhower, Butcher is less critical than he might be. His basic impression of the greatness of the man is justified. But the diary itself is a curious combination of Pepys, Boswell, and Walter Winchell. *Caveat emptor.*

Colonel Frank Monaghan has supplied valuable running commentaries on global strategy for insertion at appropriate intervals in the text. There is a good glossary of military terms, including abbreviations and code names. And the publishers are to be congratulated on an unusually complete, although inadequately subdivided, index.

This book provides a lesson for the future which should be taken to heart by the general staff and the historical profession. Every high-ranking officer and headquarters should have a trained historian to keep detailed records of this sort, for no one chosen at random can possibly provide the chronicle which the situation requires. Such a historian would not be a substitute for a personal diarist like Butcher but supplementary to him. The former would provide a record of genuine historical value, the latter the trivia and local color. Otherwise priceless records will be forever lost.

Institute for Advanced Study EDWARD MEAD EARLE

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT: A GREAT EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION. By *Egon F. Ranshofen-Wertheimer,* Special Consultant and Research Associate. [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law; Studies in the Administration of International Law and Organization, No. 3.] (New York: Distributed by International Documents Service, Columbia University Press. 1945. Pp. xxvii, 500. $4.50.)

The International Secretariat, published under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is the first comprehensive study we have had of the experience in international administration gained by the League of Nations. Its author is Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer, who was himself a member of the League's secretariat in the decade between 1930 and 1940 and who is thus in an excellent position to speak from firsthand knowledge. It is true that earlier studies covered part of the ground which this book traverses, notably Felix Morley's *The Society of Nations,* published in 1932, and the more recent booklet issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, entitled *The International Secretariat of the Future.* But these studies were limited in their scope, and we are indebted both to the present author and to the Carnegie Endowment for a thor-

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ough, scholarly, and timely analysis of the organization and development of the secretariat at Geneva, which brings the story up to date.

To those of us who were at one time or another officially connected with the secretariat or who followed its operations at close range, Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer's book is absorbing reading, and because of its timeliness it will undoubtedly appeal to a wider public as well. Here is the complete story of the fumbling uncertainty with which the experiment was begun in 1919—an uncertainty ascribable to the fact that nobody had ever had any experience in this kind of work before; there were no precedents, no rules, no guides. Here, too, we see the gradual building of a devoted staff, completely divorced from national ties, wedded to the single loyalty of a world community. We see the results of the slow poison that Italian Undersecretary-General Paulucci introduced into the system, by putting his Fascism ahead of his allegiance to the League. We see the impact of Hitlerism on Geneva prior to the time when Germany withdrew from the League. But in spite of manifestations of decay due to the rise of the totalitarian powers, there is abundant evidence to justify Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer's conclusion that "the League has shown that it is possible to establish an integrated body of international officials, loyal to the international agency and ready to discharge faithfully the international obligations incumbent upon them. It was not for lack of executive efficiency that the League system failed."

Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer was bound to touch on the delicate subject of M. J. Avenol, the French secretary-general who succeeded Sir Eric Drummond, and he does it judiciously and with restraint. Perhaps he shows too much restraint. If in the days between 1932 and 1940 the League had had a secretary-general who possessed qualities of imagination, daring, and high courage, it is just possible that history would have taken a different turn. Instead, during this crucial period, the secertary-general, while he may have had some administrative ability, was otherwise completely miscast for his role. He never understood the nature of the problems that faced the world; he was lacking in initiative and leadership; and in the end, following the victory of the German aggressors in 1940 and probably at the behest of Vichy and Berlin, he obviously tried to scuttle what was left of the League. Perhaps the wisest and ablest man in Christendom could not, after 1932, have checked the forces that were bent on wrecking the world; but the League could have ended its course with honor, with its flag still flying for a lost cause; instead of which it surrendered to the spirit of defeatism which in that tragic hour gripped the hearts of so many men and nations.

This book will be of inestimable service to the United Nations as it takes over the functions and work of the League. The experience of twenty years was not in vain. One might wish that the book had been published earlier, for there are certain obvious lessons growing out of those two decades which it may now be too late to apply. For instance, there is the question of site. Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer makes this comment: "There is almost unanimity that an international center

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must not be under the tutelage of any great power or under the influence of her political conceptions and aims." And he goes on to quote the report of the Royal Institute, referred to above: "The main, and probably inescapable, disadvantage of location within the boundaries of a major Power, would be a tendency for the organization to be overshadowed by the international policies and relations of its host. It might even be affected by national political issues."

Again, Mr. Ranshofen-Wertheimer speaks of what the League learned about the essential qualifications of a secretary-general. "All things considered," he says, "it can be stated that it was a mistake on the part of the statesmen responsible for establishing the League to choose an administrator [as a secretary-general]. The purely administrative tasks could well have been entrusted with advantage to a man of Sir Eric [Drummond's] fibre, but the political tasks should have been in the hands of a statesman whose past rôle and standing in the international world and whose general approach would have made him an equal of the top delegates and secured for the Secretary-General the prestige needed for international action. . . . The lesson of the League in this respect is as clear as possible, hardly open to contention, and absolutely convincing."

It is to be hoped that the United Nations will profit by the experiences and mistakes of the organization on which it was patterned. In tracing the pattern, one can do no better than read this book.

New York City RAYMOND B. FOSDICK

THE UNITED STATES AND BRITAIN. By *Crane Brinton,* Professor of History, Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1945. Pp. xii, 305. $2.50.)

THIS is the first volume of an American Foreign Policy Library series to be edited by Sumner Welles and Professor McKay in twenty-five volumes and published by the Harvard University Press. In such distinguished hands and with the Harvard imprint, it should attract wide attention and fill a great present need. The series is intended, if this volume is any indication, for the general reader who is emerging from an isolation so complete that he lacks even the rudiments of information about foreign countries, including Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations. The first third of this volume is devoted to a necessarily brief relation of the most elementary facts about British geography, population, the parliamentary system, parties, the church, and education. No similar section is included for the United States. The bulk of the book describes the "grave economic problems" between the United States and Britain, contrasts their basic positions, and considers monetary and exchange issues, cartels, oil, and the like. The "less grave political problems" between the two nations are also treated—Atlantic and Pacific bases, trusteeships, spheres of influence in the Near, Middle, and Far East, and Latin America, which is courageously added as an American or British sphere of in-

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fluence. The interrelation and interaction of economic and political problems is stressed throughout, the relations of both countries to the world emphasized, and some real consideration given to a world order and to the United Nations.

Readers familiar with the subject will probably feel that the first third of the book is too elementary to be worth while; the latter two thirds, however, is expertly packed with relevant information about problems whose complexity is only too apparent. And in the forthcoming volumes about other countries, introductory sections may well prove to be among the most useful features of the series. Professor Brinton's extended personal experience in wartime Britain occupies less space than one could wish, but to have given it greater emphasis would have altered the character of the volume.

The author discusses and analyzes issues without trying to settle them, but well-considered and acute conclusions do appear upon vital questions everyone wishes answered. The economic cost of the war has been high but can be paid, he feels, by hard and intelligent work. Britain can and will recover; but the restoration of Britain depends on the restoration of an orderly world trade and this in turn depends, Professor Brinton thinks, primarily on the policies of the United States, not of Britain. He concludes that the organization for total war which reached so high a point did not make Britain totalitarian or socialist. The continuation of the war measures is expedient, if not essential, and has not and will not lead to socialism as the word is ordinarily used. Professor Brinton believes that Britain can remain a great power only if numerous conditions can be fulfilled. India, he concedes, will be lost, and its loss will not be a catastrophe. But Britain must retain the loyalty and full co-operation of the dominions, must keep her "valuable African possessions" (including the Sudan?) and at least Malaya in Asia. A life line to the East will be essential, for which a minimum would be Gibraltar, Malta, the Suez Canal, Aden, a base in India or Ceylon, and Singapore. Hong Kong, Rhodes, Cyprus, and the Carribbean islands are no longer imperative. On the whole, Professor Brinton takes an optimistic view of the future of Britain, of the empire, and of the relations of both with the United States.

Washington University ROLAND G. USHER

AMERIGO VESPUCCI: PILOT MAJOR. By *Frederick J. Pohl.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1944. Pp. x, 249. $3.00.)*

IN 1926 Alberto Magnaghi, of the University of Palermo, proposed to reverse the prevailing view of the two main groups of Vespuccian sources. The works printed in or about 1504, namely, the *Mundus novus* and the *Soderini Letter,* which talk of four voyages by Vespucci and date his discovery of the South American mainland in 1497, a year before Columbus discovered it, are now re-

*At the editor's request Mr. Wilson has included the substance of a challenging piece of research, only a part of which has been published. It bears on the book under review but was not, of course, available in its entirety to Mr. Pohl.

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garded as forgeries. On the other hand, the Vespucci letters to Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de'Medici from Seville (1500), Cape Verde (1501), and Lisbon (1502), which describe only two voyages to America and which were published in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as apocryphal, are now accepted as genuine. Thus at a stroke Vespucci seems to be relieved of the charge that he invented a voyage of 1497 in order to antedate Columbus and steal his glory. Along with this profound reversal of historical and literary point of view goes also a new appreciation of Vespucci's pioneer work in the determination of longitude by astronomical observation.

Magnaghi's theory marked an era in the progress of Vespuccian criticism. The late Stefan Zweig presented its main outlines to English-speaking readers in a vivid, rather dramatic volume (reviewed in this periodical for October, 1942). And now we have this more erudite and careful presentation by Pohl. The book sets forth the basic ideas rather more lucidly than did Magnaghi himself, and doubtless constitutes the best available guide to the mazes of the Vespucci problem as it exists today. Unfortunately it does not itself bring the problem appreciably nearer to a solution. The Magnaghi theories are admirably expounded, but they can hardly be said to be criticized at all.

Sharp division of the sources into "genuine letters" describing two Vespuccian voyages only (1499-1500 and 1501-1502) and "forgeries" describing four (adding an earlier one in 1497-1498 and a later one in 1503-1504) is an oversimplification. The three letters to Lorenzo, it is true, meet every reasonable test of genuineness. There are a few unsolved puzzles about them, but these do not exceed the limits, so to speak, of historical tolerance. And yet the "genuine letter" of 1502, describing the voyage of 1501-1502 to the far south, remarks, "I noted there the wonders of God and of nature, of which I determined to inform Your Excellency, as I have done of my other voyages." Note the plural, "other voyages," implying not only the one of 1499-1500 but at least one earlier. Pohl's effort (p. 131) to explain this away is not convincing.

On the other hand, the *Soderini Letter* of 1504, often referred to by the descriptive title of the "Four Voyages," can hardly be a forgery through and through. The early parts are the most dubious. There was probably a "first voyage" of about 1497-1498, though we may have no reliable account of it. One may suspect that the narrative about it in the *Soderini Letter* is a somewhat garbled variant version of the voyage of 1499-1500.

Very different is the story of the "fourth voyage." The closing paragraph probably comes from the compiler of the *Soderini Letter,* but the body of the narrative has the quality of the genuine letters addressed to Lorenzo. Despite Pohl's disinterest in it (p. 154), its geographical and commercial significance is considerable. Its description of "Bad Island" corresponds perfectly to Fernão Noronha off the bulge of Brazil. The original admiral is nowhere named—just as in the letter of 1500 Hojeda is nowhere named—but he was doubtless Gonçalo Coelho (see

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Damião de Góes, *Crónica* [1926], I, 145). In 1502 King Manuel let a contract to a company of merchants, to exploit Brazil. They were to send out six ships a year, explore 300 leagues of coast a year, and build and maintain a fort for three years (see Alexander Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery* [1942], p. 29). The "fourth voyage" of Vespucci seems to have been the first of these annual expeditions. After the ill-fated Coelho lost four ships and his life, Vespucci apparently took charge. Observe that he seems to apologize for not going beyond the site of the fort, 260 leagues from Bahia, "for we could not go farther, because we had no crews and I lacked much gear." Was he conscious of falling short of the company's contract to explore 300 leagues of coast each year?

The *Soderini Letter* is certainly in its present form a forgery, but the story of the "fourth voyage" is probably a genuine Vespuccian letter received in Florence not long before it was incorporated into the published compilation. Whether or not it was originally addressed to Lorenzo there is no way of determining. There are incomprehensible references in it to distances and to latitude and longitude, but numbers were always liable to miscopying in manuscript transmission. Half a dozen similar puzzles as to numbers occur in the letter from Seville, but do not prevent that document from being regarded as genuine.

A certain omission in Pohl's work is also serious. His chronological list of voyages from 1486 to 1522 mentions no exploration of the South American mainland before the third voyage of Columbus in 1498. Both his list and his text seem to assume that there was none. Such a belief has prevailed since the time of Las Casas, who made a sort of religious dogma of it. "It is manifest," he wrote in chapter CXL of his *Historia,* "that the Admiral Don Cristobal Colón was the first by whom Divine Providence ordained that our great continent should be discovered, and chose him for the instrument through whom all these hitherto unknown Indies should be shown to the world. He saw it on Wednesday, the 1st of August . . . 1498."

The long trial between the crown and Diego Columbus, son of Christopher, over his rights in the Indies reinforced the belief. That famous lawsuit turned chiefly on one question: Was Paria, on the northern coast of South America, discovered by Christopher Columbus before all other Christians? The plaintiff declared that his father had been the first to explore not merely the islands of the New World but also its continental mainland. "The Admiral Don Diego, his son," writes Las Casas, "had proof of this from 60 hearsay witnesses and 25 eye-witnesses, as is seen by the records of the lawsuit, which I have not only seen but thoroughly examined . . . Neither the Indies nor any part of them would have been made known if the Admiral had not led the way. This is proved by 16 hearsay witnesses, by 41 who believed it, by 20 who knew it, and by 13 who gave evidence that in their belief the Admiral made his discoveries before anyone else whatever."

Las Casas is a past master of the art of reiteration. He, and the long parade of witnesses at the trial, have had a profound effect in this matter. The discovery

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of South America in 1498 has come to seem like a fixed point in history. The standard encyclopedias state it as a fact, unqualified. In reality, despite the dogmatism of Las Casas, there is considerable uncertainty about it among the early authorities, particularly these four:

(1) Bernáldez, in his *Historia de los Reyes Católicos,* ascribes the discovery of Paria to Columbus, but dates it in 1497.

(2) Oviedo, in Book III of his *Historia natural y general de las Indias,* states that Columbus discovered Paria in "1496, although some say 1497." This preference for 1496 may well be based on the evidence of Peter Martyr mentioned below. The latter's book came out in 1535, five years before Oviedo's.

(3) Peter Martyr's *Opus epistolarum,* in Letter 168, dated October 5, 1496, says that Columbus has just returned from the Indies "with very many garlands of oriental pearls," which he found at a place "called Paria by the inhabitants." He is said to have followed the coast for a great many days, and "he thinks that these regions are contiguous with and attached to Cuba, so that both of them are the very continent of India of the Ganges."

(4) Angelo Trevisan, in a narrative known only from a manuscript copy of about 1503, tells how Columbus, at the time of his 1494 voyage along southern Cuba, had sent five caravels off to the south, searching for a pearl fishery of which the natives had informed him. After twelve days' sailing to the south, southeast, and then southwest, the expedition is said to have found the place—obviously Paria, though no name is given. There they traded European trinkets for a great many pearls, and subsequently followed that coast westward for about 2,500 miles. Finally, by an unspecified route, they are stated to have "returned to their Captain Columbus on Hispaniola." This voyage of an unnamed captain and his crew in or about 1494 is presumably what Columbus reported to Peter Martyr in 1496, apparently taking credit for the work of his subordinate.

If such a voyage took place, it is almost as important for the Vespucci problem as for the Columbus problem. At any rate, it seems to render pointless Pohl's earnest discussion as to which of these two explorers should have the credit for first discovering the South American mainland. Angelo Trevisan and Peter Martyr might conceivably be mistaken about this matter, but their testimony ought not to be passed over in silence. I have investigated as carefully as possible the authenticity of Peter Martyr's Letter 168, which seems to be corroborated by other sources in about 95 per cent of its statements. Every scholar who has referred to it has pronounced the letter misdated, without making any detailed examination of its credentials, simply because it dates the discovery of the South American mainland before 1498.

Washington, D. C. WILLIAM JEROME WILSON

LES TECHNICIENS DE LA COLONISATION (XIX^e^-XX^e^ SIECLES). Avant-propos général et introduction par *Ch.-A. Julien.* [Colonies et Empires, Collec-

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tion Internationale de Documentation Coloniale, Première Série: Etudes Coloniales, I.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1946. Pp. viii, 321. Fr. 150.)

THIS volume consists of fifteen biographical sketches arbitrarily selected to portray both contrasting and characteristic colonial techniques. Germany is represented by the filibusterer Carl Peters, Belgium by the philanthropic imperialist Emile Banning, Italy by Italo Balbo, the Netherlands by Van den Bosch, and Portugal by Serpa Pinto. Except upon Banning, no flattery is wasted. Georges Bourgin's study of Balbo is the one original contribution to historical research.

The bulk of the volume is devoted to French and British empire builders. Bugeaud's rule of the sword in Algeria is creditably surveyed. Faidherbe's founding of Dakar and Senegambia is traced with flourishes worthy of G. A. Henty. Gallieni, the deserving hero of the "taxicab army," loses no shred of glory in his military occupation of Tonking and his governorship of Madagascar. Auguste Pavie (*"le héros de cette merveilleuse histoire"*) has his explorations in Siam and annexations to Indo-China neatly immortalized. Jeane Dresch supplies the only critical analyis of a French *technicien* in his study of Lyautey, the old reactionary. With this exception, the five chapters devoted to British Empire figures are, on the whole, more objective and less replete with hero worship. The solid achievements of Lord Selkirk, Lord Durham, Gibbon Wakefield, Sir George Grey, and Cecil Rhodes are ably condensed. Marcel Giraud's studies of Selkirk and Durham are superbly written. Maurice Crouzet supplies the most penetrating, comprehensive, and damning indictment of Rhodes's career that has ever been factually condensed into twenty pages.

Ch.-André Julien says in his preface that the authors were of different opinions but were united in a common hope for the future of France and the French union. No greater unity can be discovered in this collective work, unless, perhaps, it is to be found in the high consistency of French style. As the editor comments in his introduction, *". . . en colonisation comme en amour, tout est grand dans les commencements."* The same comment seems to hold true for the historians of these beginnings.

Superior State Teachers College F. EDWARD LUND

Ancient and Medieval History

CURRENCY IN ROMAN AND BYZANTINE EGYPT. By *Louis C. West* and *Allan Chester Johnson*. [Princeton University Studies in Papyrology, No. 5.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 195. $3.00.)

RESEARCH on the subject of this useful monograph requires experience in many fields of learning. The laws of economics and the principles of economic history have to be as continuously considered as the results of Greek and Roman numismatics, of papyrology, and of Greek epigraphy. Textual criticism of Greek and

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Roman authors, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and even Pharaonic history are no less essential. It is therefore not to be wondered at that the number of living scholars who, in our generation, considered this field of research as more than an occasional side line of scientific inquiries, is very small. I know of only five names, myself included. We perhaps have lost our best hope in this war, Dr. Gunnar Mickwitz of Helsingfors, a scholar equally versed in the intricacies of economics, papyrology, ancient history, and Greek and Latin authors, and probably superior to us survivors in economic statistics and in reading knowledge of Byzantine authors.

Of the others, Dr. I. G. Milne of Oxford is an outstanding numismatist, an experienced papyrologist and classical scholar, but has the economic views of a past generation. Professor A. Segrè, late of Italy and now of New York, is superior to many in legal knowledge; but his not seldom ingenuous contributions are fraught with danger for the uninitiated, because his references are often faulty, his philological and economic interpretations unequal, and he occasionally even doubts the certain and generally accepted readings in authors and documents when they endanger his theories. Professor Johnson, on the other hand, is certainly the best papyrologist in our field. His outstanding publications combining learning and common sense are a blessing to the beginner and a laborsaving help to all his colleagues. Dr. West is known as an industrious collector of evidence for economic problems of the Roman Empire.

Wherever interpretations of Greek unliterary papyri is in the foreground of the inquiry, *i.e.*, in chapters I-VI, VIII, IX, XI-XIII and in most of the appendix on documents from Roman and Byzantine Egypt, this book will be used for a long time to come to establish the history of currency in the Nile country from Augustus to Amr. One notices everywhere a hand well experienced in handling papyri, and my main objections to the use of accumulated evidence of some prices, wages, and similar economic figures where the evidence is scanty are based on the principles of economic statistics according to which all statistical statements deduced from less than one hundred or so single figures are open to doubt. In addition, several documents are not discussed which might have changed the picture. I mention Pap. Argent. Gr. 1 verso, Col. I (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXIX [1944], 1 f.) and Pap. Giss. Univ. Bibl. 22 with the final reading of lines 3 and 4 by the late Professor A. S. Hunt: τὰ μὲν τρία κνίδεια στατήρων, (τ)ὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κνίδειον ἓν νούμμων. Finally, it is open to doubt, in my opinion, whether the Egyptian currency could be maintained as isolated from that of the Roman Empire as the authors suggest.

In the numismatic chapters VII and X one notices not only expert advice but also that the authors have not themselves handled many of the coins of which they talk. A fair picture of our present knowledge is given, but no more. I disagree with the authors' conjectures on C.I.G. 5008 (pp. 94, 182) relying on Professor Hiller von Gaertringen, who checked for me the squeeze of this inscription

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in Berlin. For the Late Roman and Byzantine issues in Egypt the Greek and Coptic church fathers who wrote and lived in the Nile country should have been comprehensively studied. The index does not include a survey of all papyri, ostraca, inscriptions, and literary texts discussed, and it is to be regretted that the authors do not try to refer to all publications of their fellow workers, mainly Mickwitz, Kubitschek, Milne, Segrè, and myself, either expressly to refute or approve them, on the pages where the problems in question are discussed.

From a wealth of sources a valuable advance of our knowledge is offered in the fields of Roman provincial issues of the time of the principate in the Egyptian province, the inflation period of both the provincial and imperial Roman currencies from Commodus to Diocletian, and the subsequent provincial valuation of the Late Roman and Byzantine coinage. But this book is more a steppingstone on the way than a royal road to a goal in view.

University College, Nottingham, England F. M. Heichelheim

LIGHT FROM THE ANCIENT PAST: THE ARCHEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF THE HEBREW-CHRISTIAN RELIGION. By *Jack Finegan.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. xxxiv, 500. $5.00.)

The title of this highly useful compendium pleasingly recalls the brilliant metaphor condensed in the title of Adolf Deissmann's very influential *Licht vom Osten.* In elucidation of the figurative title we quote from Deissmann's own preface to his first edition:

> "Light from the East"—it is a curious title for the book, but before you censure it just look for a moment at the Eastern sunshine.
>
> Let but a single beam of the Eastern sun peep through a chink of the door into the darkness of a poor Panhagia chapel: a dawning begins, a sparkling and quickening; the one beam seems to wax twofold, tenfold; day breaks, you take in the pious meaning of the wall frescoes and the inscribed words, and the miserable poverty that built the shrine is forgotten.
>
> Make that sunshine your own and take it with you to the scene of your labors. If you have ancient texts to decipher, the sunbeam will bring stone and potsherd to speech.
>
> And then, if you speak of the East, you cannot help yourself; made happy by its marvels, thankful for its gifts, you *must* speak of the *light* of the East.

In formulating the English title for his manual, Jack Finegan made two changes in comparison with the German original. He changed "East" to "Past," and he added the adjective "Ancient." By these simple changes he suggested the vast differences in chronological scope and subject matter between Deissmann's epochal volume and his own book. Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten* dealt with the Greco-Roman world of the Roman imperial period, approximately the first five centuries of our era. Finegan's considerations begin about 5000 B.C. Deissmann's sources were confined to the informal texts of the Greco-Roman world, chiefly

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ostraca and papyri. Finegan's sources are archaeological documents of all sorts: buildings, inscriptions, statues, paintings, reliefs, manuscripts, pottery, mosaics, sarcophagi, and the other multifarious artifacts that man created during the millenniums before Christ and the centuries after, to the end of the imperial era.

This enormous inclusiveness in a 500-page book is one of the most valuable and remarkable features of Jack Finegan's *Light from the Ancient Past.* In the first half of the volume the archaeological backgrounds of Hebrew-Jewish religion are surveyed in Mesopotamia, the Nile Valley, Palestine, Assyria, and Iran. Against this background the procession of East Mediterranean empires is exhibited from predynastic periods through Hellenistic times. In the second half of the volume the early Christian development is analyzed more extensively, in relation to extant monuments located all over the long ellipse of the Mediterranean world. To combine both these phases of Mediterranean religious history, pre-Christian Oriental and Hellenistic Christian, into a single stupendous historical panorama is an enormously difficult accomplishment. It is great praise to say that here the task is well done. For decades students interested in the study of history with the aid of archaeological data have been waiting for just such a combined survey as is here presented.

The book is not beyond criticism however. It would be a miracle if it were—considering the scope of the record and the multiplicity of the data involved. There are mistakes, a few of them, in addition to the erratum conscientiously noted by the author himself. Fortunately most of them are of a sort that can easily be corrected when a revised edition of this work is issued. For example, on page 290, line 12, the name Domitian should be substituted for the name Diocletian. These two Roman emperors lived more than two centuries apart!

Throughout the volume the author shows a tendency to be more decided on problematic points than is justified by the available data. Moreover, his precarious decisions are uniformly along conservative, traditional lines. He is quite sure that the Holy Sepulcher of today was the very burial place of Jesus, and that the Via Dolorosa of today was the route over which Jesus carried his cross to his own crucifixion. But do we know the line of the second wall of Jerusalem, outside which Jesus was crucified? And do we know just where in Jerusalem the Roman procurator was in residence at Passover time in the year 29 or 30?

Even more disturbing are the very evident omissions from this comprehensive volume. With the various Near Eastern cultures archaeologically delineated in relation to Hebrew-Jewish religious experience, why was not Greco-Roman culture similarly delineated in relation to early Christian religious experience? The archaeological materials for such a description of the Roman world are superabundant, superlatively important, and quite available. Why were they not used for that purpose? Much in the early Christian development could have been made more intelligible, had they been so utilized.

In connection with Corinthian archaeology, why were not the numerous

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pagan religious monuments of the early Roman period discussed? Why was nothing said about the very important early Christian churches still extant in Thessalonica? Why was exactly one half page of text devoted to the churches of Gerasa, and the other half of the page left blank? Why were early Christian statues in the round neglected—especially when the types and the actual examples are so very few and so very valuable! And why were early Christian minor arts completely ignored, and no attention paid to the fascinating artifacts of ordinary early Christians that were intimately related to the essential processes of everyday living?

In conclusion, Princeton University Press should be praised for the fine piece of bookmaking that it has accomplished in the production of this volume. A difficult text has been organized most handily and printed most legibly. The plates are marvels of clear illustration and are grouped just where they can be most conveniently consulted. It is a pleasure to work with this volume.

University of Chicago HAROLD R. WILLOUGHBY

LAUDES REGIAE: A STUDY IN LITURGICAL ACCLAMATIONS AND MEDIAEVAL RULER WORSHIP. By *Ernst H. Kantorowicz*. With a study of the music of the Laudes and Musical Transcriptions by Manfred F. Bukofzer. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XXXIII.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1946. Pp. xxi, 292, plates. $3.00.)

IN this series of significant studies Ernst Kantorowicz demonstrates the truth of his contention that the liturgy is today one of the most important auxiliaries to the study of medieval history and has been too long neglected. No attentive reader will fail to comprehend more fully than he has before how packed with the vitality of history a liturgical form can be. It is impossible to give within the limitations of this review any extensive analysis of the important topics considered in these essays and it is desirable that more specialized journals should allot space where experts may speak at length concerning what the author here endeavors to do. The short chapter I describes how the *Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat* formula, so favored by French monarchs, was for the first time applied to coins by the Norman kings of southern Italy. The six remaining chapters give extensive analyses of acclamations—regal, imperial, princely, papal, episcopal—used from Roman and Frankish times in various sections of medieval Europe and, in chapter VII, in more modern times. The book has a certain unity as a whole but, as the author points out, the present stage of researches prevents completeness and each chapter is better understood if regarded as a separate study. There are five appendixes. The first is Professor Bukofzer's examination of the music of the Laudes, an interesting but necessarily somewhat technical contribution requiring more than an average knowledge of music to appreciate fully. The reviewer found especially valuable and interesting Appendix II, "Notes on the Dif-

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fusion of the Christus vincit Legend on Coins." There are also fifteen excellent plates, an index of manuscripts, and a general index.

Judged by rigorous standards this book is a fine example of scholarship and the fact that it is well written adds to its distinction. At first glance the volume might seem to be primarily and almost exclusively a tool for the specialist. This is, however, not true and the essays offer rich rewards for medievalists whose interests vary widely; they present especially significant materials for those interested in numismatics, ecclesiastical studies, political theory, papal and princely pretensions and claims, and the history of ideas.

Professor Kantorowicz started his investigations some years ago when he was able to consult manuscripts and printed materials inaccessible save through extensive research in European depositories, yet in many instances he has been unable to consult essential works, particularly those appearing from European presses since the beginning of the war. He makes no claims to finality and helpfully indicates places where he has reached only tentative conclusions and calls attention to the many topics needing further exploration. The author might, of course, have deferred publication until all things were again under control, but happily perfection has been sacrificed for usefulness, and historians are the gainers. Here they have a volume that should set their thinking off into fresh, rich paths and a tool that offers a guide to difficult and little explored areas. Fine as the narrative account is, all readers will note—scholars with rejoicing—the splendid critical apparatus supplied by the notes, which are copious, critical, and of inestimable value. This is no mere display of erudition but a scholar's recognition of his responsibility. For one reader, at least, this is a veritable mine of riches.

Alameda, California GRAY C. BOYCE

Modern European History

COURTS AND CABINETS. By *G. P. Gooch*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. Pp. xi, 372, xviii. $3.75.)

SEVERAL years ago, in his *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy*, Dr. Gooch extracted, in a paragraph or two for each, the essence of several hundred memoirs and other writings relating to the origins of World War I. The extract was often bitter, not of course owing to Dr. Gooch, who is most kindly, but because the writers were deadly serious in trying to exculpate themselves or blame others for "war guilt." In this volume, on the other hand, touching the history of three centuries, he skims the cream from only thirteen memoir writers and spreads it generously over some forty or fifty pages for each writer. Their testimony is of less value for what they did than for what they saw and heard. They were generally not writing apologias for themselves. They were usually writing merely for their own amusement, or to show their cleverness, or to record for

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posterity matters of piquant interest either in their own life or in the lives of those about them. They afford a delightful account of the leading figures and the prevailing atmosphere of European courts and cabinets from Richelieu to Bismarck.

Dr. Gooch suggests that in this rich field of memoirs and diaries France occupies the first place, England the second, Germany the third. His selection also indicates that women have a more important place than men. Of his thirteen writers eight are French, four English, and one German; and the women outnumber the men eight to five. They are: Madame de Motteville and Marie Louise of Orléans ("La Grande Mademoiselle") on Mazarin; Saint Simon on Louis XIV; Wilhelmina of Bayreuth on her Prussian father and brother; Bishop Burnet on William III, and Lord Hervey, Horace Walpole, Fanny Burney on the first three Georges; Madame Campan, Madame de Rémusat, Queen Hortense, and Coulaincourt on the French Revolution and Napoleon; and Juliette Adam on Gambetta. In each case Dr. Gooch gives a brief but illuminating account of the historical value of the memoir and the personality of the writer, and then in a chapter or two makes a very interesting digest of material that fills several volumes in the original.

In most memoirs, as Macaulay complained of Saint Simon, the road from fountain to fountain lies through a very dry desert. Dr. Gooch helps the reader lightly over the desert. The fountains at which he lingers ought to lead many a reader to turn to the original memoirs and to study some of the criticisms of them which he cites in his excellent bibliographies. The book is no doubt designed for the general reader rather than the professional historian. Seven of the studies have already appeared in the *Contemporary Review*. The historian would have been glad if Dr. Gooch, with his mature historical scholarship, had given a fuller critical appraisal of each of the writers.

Harvard University SIDNEY B. FAY

DYNAMIC EUROPE: A BACKGROUND OF FERMENT AND CHANGE. By *C. F. Strong*. (London: University of London Press. 1945. Pp. 472. 16*s*.)

"EUROPE," says the author of this new survey, "has reached its present parlous condition because the nations have failed properly to control and direct the dynamic factors in its growth and fully to foster the trend to international cooperation which social development requires and modern technology can facilitate" (p. 437). Those dynamic factors—nationalism, the ideal of democracy, and industrial techniques—have been twisted to serve the ends of acquisitiveness and power, and the resultant social and political atomization has brought Europe to the verge of complete collapse.

Mr. Strong has undertaken to chart the course of this European decline in a full-scale review of European history since the age of Pericles and, at the same time, to plead for a return to the principles of unity which he believes are in-

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herent in the Greek, Roman, and Christian traditions. As an argument for world citizenship, his book is provocative and often eloquent, particularly in its final chapters. As a historical survey, it is less satisfactory.

Over half the book is devoted to the period since 1789, and here especially Mr. Strong indulges frequently in careless generalizations and personal bias. Thus, Bismarck's "diplomatic chicanery" is belabored unmercifully (p. 278), while Cavour—as much a *Realpolitiker* as his Prussian contemporary—is referred to as "that great and noble statesman" (p. 247). Serbia is flatly absolved from all complicity in the Sarajevo plot, while the responsibility for the first World War is attributed almost wholly to Germany (p. 374). The account is further weakened by frequent factual inaccuracies, as when the author—perhaps influenced by Palmerston's admission of the complexities of the Schleswig-Holstein affair—gives the duchies to the wrong powers in 1864 (p. 289).

A more serious fault rises from the fact that the author has seen fit, in covering the modern period, to treat foreign relations, economic developments, and domestic politics in separate sections. This division of subject matter is so rigid that neither the influence of economic factors in modern diplomacy nor the domestic background of state policy receives adequate treatment. Thus, aside from a casual reference to the *Weltpolitik* of William II, Mr. Strong makes no attempt to assess the international effects of imperialism, a subject which has great relevance in our own time; while his account of the appeasement policy of England and France in the 1930's—a study of which would be equally rewarding—is weakened by the absence of any detailed analysis of the domestic history of the Western democracies after 1920.

Princeton University GORDON A. CRAIG

GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE. By *Shelby T. McCloy,* Professor of History, University of Kentucky. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1946. Pp. xi, 496. $6.00.)

THE history of modern social legislation, usually connected with the period since Bismarck, really stems from earlier centuries. Without considering the efforts of the church in the Middle Ages, or the beginnings of government aid in the Italian cities of the Renaissance, or even what had been done earlier in France, the author gives a very detailed study of the situation in eighteenth century France. He considers not only all types of government aid in seasons of epidemics, famines, fires, and floods but also aid in the ordinary routine of normal times. Every aspect of the subject is fully considered; besides government aid in varied types of disasters, the author discusses aid to hospitals, asylums, orphanages, and schools, and the treatment of beggars and the needy. Two lengthy chapters treat of pensions and refugees.

This government assistance shows clearly the overlapping of jurisdictions, and,

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still worse, the lack of administrative uniformity that existed behind the symmetrical, neoclassic façade of the Old Regime. Alongside of excellent management of government aid in some sections, one finds neglect and mismanagement in others. This variation from district to district is carefully pointed out, but, without some sort of summarizing paragraphs, the narrative is hard to follow. The facts are assembled without much comment, and there is almost no general interpretation of the material. It would be interesting to know what was being done in other states, though the reviewer is aware that no study of this scope and thoroughness has been published for any other country. Also one wonders what was the relation of all this governmental activity to the general currents of opinion, and especially to the reformist and humanitarian propaganda in eighteenth century France.

Extended use has been made of archival sources and of printed materials gathered in the libraries of France and the United States; it is a work of careful and thorough scholarship. It covers much new ground and is an important contribution to the history not only of the Old Regime in France but also to the general social and economic history of modern Europe.

Oberlin College FREDERICK B. ARTZ

MACHIAVELLIS STAATSGEDANKE. By *Leonhard von Muralt.* (Basel: Benno Schwabe and Company. 1945. Pp. 228. Fr. 12.)

DR. von Muralt, a well-known Swiss historian of Zurich, states the purpose of his book as follows: "The present study of Niccolò Machiavelli aims to give neither a full account of his life and personality nor a complete analysis of his writings. It sets itself merely the task of inquiring into the conception of the right state [*der rechte Staat*] in the thought of the great Florentine. Neither does this book undertake to discuss the whole recent scholarship on Machiavelli, but only the opinions of some of its typical representatives with a view to clarifying the main questions" (p. 7). Accordingly Dr. von Muralt does not deal with the interpretation of Machiavelli's ideas given recently by men like J. W. Allen, P. Mesnard, G. H. Sabine, H. Butterfield, and M. Lerner (on the recent Machiavelli literature see the excellent survey given by F. Gilbert in *Huntington Library Quarterly,* IV, 443-50). This omission, however, is somewhat compensated for by Dr. von Muralt's full discussion of the opinions of F. Meinecke and especially of those of two other Continental scholars whose books have not yet been reviewed in American periodicals: Gerhard Ritter, *Machtstaat und Utopie. Vom Streit um die Daemonie der Macht seit Machiavelli und Morus* (Munich-Berlin, 1940); Augustin Renaudet, *Machiavel. Etude d'histoire des doctrines politiques* (Librairie Gallimard, 7th ed., 1942).

In another respect, too, Dr. von Muralt limits the scope of his study at the very start. For in his preface he declares explicitly that he does not intend to give

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"any more detailed discussion of Machiavelli's literary sources" (p. 7). In view of the results recently obtained by A. H. Gilbert and F. Gilbert along that very line of research, Dr. von Muralt's assertion (*ibid.*) that such inquiries "would hardly mean an essential advancement of the proper understanding" of Machiavelli's ideas, seems definitely disproved. For it appears that the true significance of Machiavelli's conception of the "right state" becomes clear only when set against the background of the ancient, medieval, and humanistic ideas and traditions with which he was familiar.

In the first part of his book Dr. von Muralt attempts to refute Meinecke's, Ritter's, and Renaudet's views, that in Machiavelli's opinion the state was an end in itself and that it had a moral law of its own, outside or beyond the ordinary moral sphere (see especially pp. 37, 44 ff.). On the contrary, Dr. von Muralt asserts, Machiavelli believed in "ethical values which were based on religious notions and which were not merely justified rationally because of their usefulness for the state, but which had their justification in themselves or in heaven" (p. 82). Dr. von Muralt grants that Machiavelli's "interpretation of Christianity was strongly determined by ancient pagan elements" (p. 82), but at the same time he finds that some of his religious utterances were those of "a reformer" (p. 80), and thus he concludes that Machiavelli "acknowledged God, that is the God 'of our religion,' the Christian, as the ultimate source of the true, the good and the just" (p. 81).

Dr. von Muralt's further analysis of Machiavelli's political thought proceeds logically from this premise. For if the assumption is true that Machiavelli recognized these ethical values as "the masters of the authority of the state" (p. 96), then it follows that he must have conceived of a "right state" as one which, in subordination to absolute standards, set itself the task of realizing the ideal in the political sphere (see especially pp. 93 f.). The highest value of the state, then, is to be found in its "ethical and educational task" (p. 88), and this task will ideally always best be carried out under a republican form of government. The republic, therefore, is in Dr. von Muralt's opinion Machiavelli's "right state" (pp. 98, 115 f.).

This thesis that "Machiavelli was not a Machiavellian, but that his whole endeavour was rather to perceive what the right state was" (p. 98), is highly stimulating, though not at all convincing. For not only does the assumption of Machiavelli's religiousness appear very questionable but one may also challenge the interpretation of a number of passages which Dr. von Muralt gives in order to prove his point of Machiavelli's belief in the absolute character of moral standards. One example will suffice. Dr. von Muralt quotes (p. 92) the following sentence from *The Discourses,* I, 3: "Men act rightly only under compulsion," and he concludes: *"Damit wird der Staat sittlich begruendet."* But the context of this very passage, as well as the famous passage in *The Discourses,* I, 2, (quoted by Dr. von Muralt himself on p. 55), makes it clear beyond any doubt that Machia-

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velli explained the beginnings of man's distinction between good and evil and the origin of the conception of justice, in terms of pure political expediency: all these notions have been established, and must be continuously enforced, by the authority of the state; therefore they cannot possibly be "the masters of the authority of the state," as Dr. von Muralt contends.

Although Dr. von Muralt's main thesis seems unacceptable, in another respect his book makes a valuable contribution to the Machiavelli literature. For its second half contains a very full account of the nature and the task of the republican form of government as described in *The Discourses*. In view of the preference given by most scholars to *The Prince*, such a detailed study of Machiavelli's principal work fills a considerable gap. Of particular interest to the American reader will be the treatment of the role which the contemporary Swiss city-states played in Machiavelli's thought. On this point one will readily agree with Dr. von Muralt's statement (p. 144), that Machiavelli believed that in his own day *virtù* had migrated to Switzerland, and that he consequently considered and treated that country as "the best and most impressive example" of free republican government and democratic ideals.

Groton, Massachusetts THEODOR E. MOMMSEN

ITALIAN DEMOCRACY IN THE MAKING: THE POLITICAL SCENE IN THE GIOLITTIAN ERA, 1900-1914. By *A. William Salomone*, Department of History, New York University. Introductory Essay by Gaetano Salvemini. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1945. Pp. xix, 148. $2.50.)

IN the days of Giolitti, no one attacked him more severely than Professor Salvemini, whose pamphlet *Il ministro della mala vita* (the minister of the underworld) bears witness to the strength of his feeling. The same Professor Salvemini now writes a mellow essay to introduce this study of the political life of Italy during the "reign" of the same Giolitti. The indictment stands, but the perspective of time has softened the verdict, and Mr. Salomone's work shows the reasons for this.

In his own words, "by 1914 . . . Italian democracy . . . had become more than a mere ideal and gave promise of a robust growth" (p. 16). The formation of this democracy was in large part presided over by Giolitti. Mr. Salomone, however, does not set out to prove a thesis, but as a true historian should, largely contents himself with presenting the evidence he has found; this he does with sound scholarship and restrained fairness. After making the important point that criticism of Italian parliamentarism is of old vintage and is no reliable guide to the state of parliamentary life, he proceeds to draw a picture of the condition of Italian politics at the turn of the century when the old labels had lost their ideological vitality and too large a role was played by the personal element in

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politics. This was not a condition of Giolitti's making but a state of affairs which he used with skill and lack of scruple.

If Italian democracy was to become a reality, the new forces at work, catholic, socialist, and nationalist, must undertake to make it live. Socialism receives the most attention in the course of an able discussion of its evolution in Italy through a careful analysis of the party congresses from 1900 on. The struggle between the divergent tendencies within socialism is clearly brought out and the author does not fail to note the antidemocratic strain within a section of the movement. Inasmuch as socialism held the most promise for the future, more could have been made of this factor, especially in view of the above quotation. The concluding chapter on Giolitti and *Giolittismo* is a model of fair presentation of evidence on both sides of a case, followed by the author's tentatively favorable verdict.

There is little to find fault with in this work; perhaps some critical comments would have been appropriate when references are given to Giolitti's own memoirs whose concision at times gives a very partial picture; the use of accents in French citations could also stand proofreading. But these are trifling faults. Within the limits he has set himself, the author is to be congratulated for a most useful monograph enhanced by an excellent and extensive bibliographical guide.

Barnard College RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ

ZWISCHEN KAISER UND KANZLER: AUFZEICHNUNGEN DES GENERALADJUTANTEN GRAFEN CARL VON WEDEL AUS DEN JAHREN 1890-1894. Eingeleitet und herausgegeben von *Graf Erhard von Wedel.* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang. 1943. Pp. 216.)

WHILE an outraged world, betraying more ire than study in its juridical procedures at Nuremberg and elsewhere, sits in judgment over the most recent set of *destructores Germaniae,* the historian who cares to understand may properly contemplate the doings and the setup, parallel or not, of an earlier set of Reich governors. Those, for example, who came to power after the fall of Bismarck, lend themselves for such contemplation as well as any other. As if intended for such a warning, but much too late and too subtle to take effect, and still not unsymptomatic, the family of one of those earlier officials caused the publication of parts of his memoirs in the darkling year of 1943. In their way, they are additional testimony to the fact that conservativism so-called in Germany, except in a few representatives, has never been truly conservative, and that conservativism has found its true upholders in such unexpected personalities as, let us say, President Ebert rather than his successor. It was another belated realization of this fact that underlay the putsch against Hitler in July, 1944. Intended to keep Germany and perhaps Europe from "becoming cossack," it had to be an attempt on the part of those of the Right who had admitted Hitler to power, to get rid of him and his party.

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The writer of these memoirs, Count Wedel, perhaps remembered by the more attentive readers of Bülow's reminiscences, was not himself an Old Prussian, but a cis-Albingian, a circumstance likely to give a man a somewhat broader horizon from the outset, a reminder incidentally of how seldom even after Bismarck's time Junkers from the east were diplomats. As commandant of the imperial headquarters he was a court general, a position which did not make him a Byzantine. He was a diplomatic general and a military diplomat. While occasionally employed on some minor diplomatic missions, his business during those years of conflict of cliques and nerves in Berlin was essentially court business in its military sector. To a democratic eye that might seem irresponsible and unrealistic enough, but around William II men like Wedel or Court-Marshal Count Zedlitz-Trützschler (*cf.* his *Zwölf Jahre am deutschen Kaiserhof*, 1923) as real and not merely party conservatives, who knew a true interest of state, had to hold just such offices in order to speak up to the emperor, or at least see and note down what was fated to destroy Germany from within. These observations prove once more how little so-called *Realpolitik* conformed with any true *Interessenlehre*, something which German governors in and out of uniform have never truly understood or observed, a dichotomy which has always complicated the socio-economic analysis of German society and politics. All societies have been, and seem to be, self-destructive in their nature, but none more so, more immediately so, than the German.

Wedel disagreed on many things with the young emperor, including the Reich navy which was, so to speak, conceived during those years and which he thought, "is and remains a disease with the all-highest master; only a war and the navy's small importance in it that such a war will demonstrate, can work a cure in this respect" (p. 166). Quite right, Count, but for the mere purpose of demonstrating this to practically all the army men the first World War went rather a little too far. Almost as frightening as this new arm—the growth of which the psychoanalyst might well trace to a compensative desire on the emperor's part induced by his own weak limb—was to Wedel the corruption spread by the money of the Rheingold of the *Welfenfonds* among the higher brackets of the Prussian bureaucracy which had traditionally boasted of its clean hands (pp. 158 ff.).

While these memoirs or notes for memoirs bring neither anything startlingly new about the Wilhelminic era nor a comprehensive treatment of the Kaiser-Kanzler conflict, it is still to the knowledge of this episode and its effect upon the governing society in the Reich that it contributes most, more we daresay than a treatment of Bismarck's dismissal by a Nazi historical film which we should like to see some day (for light on Nazi history concepts, of course). Wedel endeavored to soften the blow of that loss to the stability of the Reich, while the neurotic on the throne would bluster that the chancellor for his continued fronde "might yet end up one day in Spandau fortress" (June 6, 1891; p. 183). Clearly such a man could not last in the immediate entourage of the emperor, who

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"saw in me something of a walking conscience" (p. 174). Wedel thought he had done much to improve the coarse "stable" tone prevalent there before, but here "creatures were needed whom He may not respect but whom He finds comforting" to have around (p. 174). All his later employments kept him at a distance from the monarch who would twice strike him from the list of candidates for the chancellorship. Of his notes dealing with these later official experiences the larger part remains unpublished, if in fact it has survived the vast destruction of historical records in Germany.

Sherman, Connecticut ALFRED VAGTS

LEBENDIGE VERGANGENHEIT: BEITRÄGE ZUR HISTORISCHEN SELBSTBESINNUNG. By *Gerhard Ritter*. (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang. 1944. Pp. 390.)

THE term *besinnen* is of a latitude great enough to include such meanings as come to, bethink, gain or regain consciousness, recollect or recall through an effort of one sort or another, become conscious through reflection, and also hesitate, think before you do. And *Selbstbesinnung* according to one definition is the very "starting point of cognition" (Johs. Volkhelt, *Gewissheit und Wahrheit* [1918], p. 31). All such semantics come to mind in reading and judging these "Contributions to Historical Bethinking." They were written (and most of them spoken) in the years from 1921 to 1943 and published or republished in 1944, covering the period from Professor Ritter's start in the university career to the time when he seems to have joined the anti-Hitler conspiracy of what was left of German conservativism that made its coup and failed in 1945. They are markers along the way of a German historian through the era of Weimar and of Hitler. Kept in office by his staunch nationalism, he could under the Republic reiterate the not altogether truly drawn parallel between post-Jena and post-Versailles, something wholly undangerous to the author if not for Germany; under Hitler he could devise slyer methods of protest, remonstrating against the Nazi hotheads and flatheads among his colleagues by urging that "the science of political history is suitable neither as a tool or a megaphone nor as immediate master of practical politics" (p. 264), or against the Führer's doings by hinting at a possible parallel between the latter's own fate and that of Charles XII and Napoleon in Russia or emphasizing against Hitler's "intuitional" strategy that "the acquisition of strategic mastership outside a strict military education is no longer possible today" (1937; p. 96).

The problems that seemed to the author during those twenty years possessed of a "living past" are indicated by titles like "Historiography and Life," "Political Ethics," "Conflict of Power and Peace Order" (1943), "Conduct of War and Policy in the History of Frederick the Great" or in the empire of Bismarck, "Historical Experiences of German Colonial Policy" (1927), "Enigma Russia: Histori-

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cal Considerations of Russia's Relations to Europe" (1943). Professionally judged rather than politically considered they are of uneven value. The article on German colonial policy insists that "it was more economic than political in its character" (p. 157), which endows it with more rationality than it actually possessed. A pretendedly newly discovered military memorandum of 1526 (p. 76) has already been dealt with at considerable length by Max Jähns (*Geschichte der Kriegswissenschaften in Deutschland,* pp. 481 ff.). There is from new sources a piquant detail about Bismarck's intention, entertained until 1864, to arrange for a transfer of his estates in case his "Stratford policy" should fail, another about what might have been his true purposes as regards the Spanish candidacy of 1869-70 (p. 86). The best piece by far deals with the arrangements existing and wanting in the Second Reich for Supreme Command, strategic unity and departmentalism, the utter nondirection of the warmaking powers as prepared under Bismarck and carried to chaos under Wilhelm II. If we have heard aright from Germany, it is along these lines, leading possibly to a history of German militarism, that Professor Ritter has been working since the end of the Third Reich.

Sherman, Connecticut ALFRED VAGTS

IRAN. By *William S. Haas.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp. vii, 273. $3.50.)

DR. Haas, a German professor of philosophy and sociology, went to Iran in 1935 to advise the Iranian Ministry of Education. He came to the United States in 1940. The stated purpose of his book is "to present the Iran of today and her problems against the background of her interpreted past." The first five chapters, summarizing the history, describing the country and the people, and dealing with religion, society, and psychology, are informative and of value. The last four chapters, "Reza Shah and His Reform," "The Cultural Situation," "The Economic Situation," and "The Outlook" are likely to be seriously misleading to those who are not already familiar with the facts. The book is lucid and interesting in places, but for the most part labored, obscure, and confused.

The author's departure from Iran in 1940 deprived him of the opportunity to obtain firsthand or adequate information concerning the revealing and crucial events that have occurred in Iran during the last five years. Thus handicapped, his presentation of the Iran of the recent past and of today has slight substance or value. He has little to say and nothing to contribute on such important subjects as Persian politics, government and administration, the present-day psychopathy and moral degeneration, and public finance.

In the preface, he promises an "unbiased presentation" but his treatment of Russia and Britain indicates either pronounced prejudice or an inexplicable ignorance. For example, the proposed Anglo-Persian agreement of 1919 is offered as an example of Britain's "ruthless imperialism"; but, with regard to more recent Rus-

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sian action, he says: "Russian policy in Europe and in the Balkans and her interest in the countries of the Near East and the Middle East must be understood as legitimate for a great power which is definitely re-establishing its place on the globe and is anxious to secure its frontiers against agression [*sic*] in the future." No mention is made of the repeated Soviet encroachments, interferences, and treaty violations during the last three years. Regarding Persia itself, the author presents these surprising conclusions: "So far, the Persians have never been extremists. If left to themselves, they are likely to develop democracy within the frame of monarchy. . . . Today Iran is definitely on the right path. . . ."

The author is consistently careless with facts. For example, he speaks of Reza Shah's bureaucracy as "a well-organized body of trained functionaries." He states that the tribes "are now an integral part of the realm," and says that "the veil has been completely discarded by the women of all classes." According to this author, there have been no elections to the parliament since Reza Shah's abdication. (There was one in the fall of 1943.) His description of the proposed Anglo-Persian agreement of 1919 is grossly inaccurate. The one sentence that refers to the writer of this review contains four errors. Dr. Haas remarks in his preface that "facts are mute." Too many of them are, in this book.

Washington, D. C. A. C. MILLSPAUGH

SOVIET POLITICS AT HOME AND ABROAD. By *Frederick L. Schuman*, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government, Williams College. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1946. Pp. xxii, 663, xxv. $4.00.)

THIS latest reinterpretation of the Russian Revolution, written in limpid, scintillating English, is comprehensive in its scope and contains a great deal of valuable information. The story of Bolshevism is told from the inception of the movement. A detailed analysis is presented of the Soviet state, the Communist party, and the complicated and, at times, enigmatic development of Soviet foreign policy, as well as of the interdependence between the latter and the domestic policy of the USSR.

But despite the assertion of the author of a recent book on the sociology of the Russian Revolution, it is far from clear that the last phase of the revolutionary cycle has been reached. It is more likely that the revolutionary process in the USSR will result in further major changes. The documentation available to Western scholars on some of the crucial events of recent Soviet history is inadequate for a comprehensive objective evaluation of these events. At the same time, opportunities for prolonged firsthand study of the different aspects of cultural, social, and political life of the USSR are rare. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to expect the appearance of a definitive synthesis of the Russian Revolution, or of one on which a substantial measure of agreement and endorsement could be bestowed by the different groups of Western scholars interested in the momentous process unfolding in the USSR.

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In this reviewer's opinion, however, the state of available documentary evidence warrants more than one objective and scholarly analysis and interpretation of the Russian Revolution and its manifestations at home and abroad. It would seem that Locke's famous warning that truth is hard to ascertain and that a rational man will hold his opinions with some measure of doubt is particularly applicable to the question of the evaluation of studies of recent history in the USSR. Unfortunately, Locke's rational man is rarely observable in reviews of books on Soviet Russia. Whenever the author belongs to the reviewer's political faction, he is acclaimed as a profound scholar and his book is deemed a superlative contribution to the understanding of the riddle of the Moscow sphinx. On the contrary, should the shade of the author's own sympathies belong to a part of the political spectrum remote from that of the critic, a loud *"écrasez l'infâme!"* warns the readers that the author is Red, White, fellow traveler, or friend of Mr. Hearst, without much regard for the objective merits of the book reviewed. This sort of "criticism" has recently begun to creep into the pages of the so-called learned journals, and promises a vigorous growth in the future.

While his own reading of recent history differs substantially from that presented by Professor Schuman, this writer is ready to say that the author's interpretation, taken in its most general form, is one of several admissible at the present time and in the current state of availability of documentary evidence. The author himself tilts a mean lance at his adversaries. He expects to be "denounced with equal vigor by the professional heroizers and hate-mongers." Judging by reviews in some newpapers and magazines, this writer believes that Professor Schuman will not be disappointed in these expectations. It is also quite probable that some of the objective students of the Soviet scene will be critical of parts, at least, of the underpinning of his analytical structure.

The author states in his preface that his work is "frankly intended to foster unity through a fuller understanding of the USSR on the part of the citizens of the Atlantic communities." This reviewer has no quarrel with the final conclusions that the ultimate task of the USSR and the Atlantic communities is to translate into political terms on a world scale the vision of the unity of man, that this is "no longer a nebulous aspiration but a grimly practical necessity," and that no two peoples "have more to contribute toward the quest of mankind for a new fulfillment of ancient hopes than Americans and Russians." Is there, though, anything in recent events to encourage hopes that this will come to pass in a reasonably near future?

Some of the author's characterizations are remarkable for their incisive terseness, *e.g.*, "Russia's political ambivalence in 1917 sprang from co-existence of a Provisional Government, having the wish but not the means to govern, and a series of Soviet agencies, having the means but not the wish to govern." But unfortunately some of the methods used by Dr. Schuman, his deductions from one-sided testimony and such devices as the injection of a psychoanalytical approach—

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as applied to Trotsky—are of doubtful value. As illustration of the above, in the discussion of the arming of German, Austrian, and Turkish prisoners on pages 145 and 146, the Webster-Hicks report is accepted as conclusive evidence that only a few hundred of these were so armed. Research in Soviet publications (*e.g., Proletarskaia Revoliutsiia,* 1929) would have shown that war prisoners in the ranks of the Red Army totaled 50,000. The acceptance at face value of Ludendorff's assertion that he merely approved the wishes of the chancellor in the matter of the "sealed car" incident is surprising. It is well known that since the formation of the *Ober-Ost,* Ludendorff and Hindenburg regarded Russian affairs as their particular domain. Also that Ludendorff was not known for the accuracy of his statements.

Another questionable statement is that "Those who practiced high politics in Washington, London, Paris and Rome" could have saved the provisional government had they acted "in such a fashion as to convince the Russian masses of Allied willingness to embrace new purposes and Allied ability to aid Russia effectively and to win the war against the Reich." This does not seem to be founded on any conclusive evidence. In this reviewer's opinion, nothing the Allies could have done, short of making a general peace with the Central Powers in the summer of 1917, would have saved the provisional government.

The description of the Erlich-Alter tragedy includes the statement that "Both found comfort in the assumption . . . that the USSR would be crushed by the *Wehrmacht.*" This is not supported by documentary evidence and sounds false to anyone familiar with the biographies of these men. The remarks on page 487 regarding the behavior of Soviet troops in western Europe and the statement that "American and British troops behaved no differently in other enemy cities" present a comparison that is contrary to the opinion of competent objective observers. Quantitatively, the difference in acts committed seems to be very great indeed. Professor Schuman will have to produce reliable evidence from disinterested sources before his statement can be accepted.

Space does not permit further examples, but quite a number of minor errors should be noted. For example, Paul III is mentioned instead of Peter III; Rasputin was not a monk. Proofreading and editing fall short of perfection—thus Kristovsky, Federov, Kokoshin, Sivikov, and, surprisingly, Portland instead of Portugal (p. 595).

The particular bone this reviewer would like to pick with the author, however, is his characterization of the Russian peasant. "Left to himself, he is slovenly, unkempt, incompetent. He lives in misery and stinky wretchedness. He is illiterate, superstitious and stubborn in all but invincible stupidity." This writer does not know what opportunities the author had to observe the Russian peasant and whether his knowledge of colloquial Russian is sufficient for sustained conversation with peasants. Having visited some two hundred villages as well as trained hundreds of peasant recruits before the Revolution, this reviewer has formed an

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entirely different opinion of the Russian peasant. It is well to remember that the steam bath is not only a Finnish national institution but a Russian one as well. Even in the most remote and poorest forest villages of Siberia, the ritual of weekly steaming was strictly observed, as this writer was able to see for himself. The Russian peasant kept his body cleaner than farmers of many western European nationalities. Furthermore, he was anything but stupid and possessed a great deal of personal dignity and independence of mind.

Despite these flaws, Professor Schuman's book should be widely read by the general public and thoroughly discussed by the social scientists.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania D. Fedotoff White

Far Eastern History

THE SIKHS IN RELATION TO HINDUS, MOSLEMS, CHRISTIANS, AND AHMADIYYAS: A STUDY IN COMPARATIVE RELIGION. By *John Clark Archer,* Hoober Professor of Comparative Religion, Yale University. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. xi, 353. $3.75.)

Professor Archer has given us a readable and competent account of the Sikh people, a community in northwestern India which now numbers some six million. The book is presented primarily as an explanation of Sikhism as " a venture in the reconciliation of religions." For this group rose out of a seer's zeal to unite Hindu and Moslem and to wipe away the differences that separate Hindus of one caste from other Hindus.

Archer draws a clear and vivid outline of the historic career of Sikhism for the purposes of his analysis of comparative religion. The founder of the Sikh way was Nanak (1470-1540), born of Hindu stock in a Punjab village. The gospel he preached was a simple, flexible one of devotion to one god; he laid down no code save general excellence of conduct; he instructed his followers always to be *sikhs,* "learners."

Nanak was the first of the line of ten gurus, the guides and teachers whom the Sikhs revere as fathers of their faith. Under succeeding gurus, Sikhism took on the characteristics of a separate church, and by the time of the tenth guru, Gobind Singh (1675-1708), it had become an organized community whose warriors were often in combat.

In sketching the development of Sikhism from a fellowship of reconciliation to a martial community, the author raises many more questions concerning the reasons for this growth than can be answered in the scope of his volume. One factor in unifying the Sikhs and helping combat the divisive tendencies common to all Indian sects was their common enemy, the Muslim overlords. Archer also points out that in Sikhism, which was relatively caste-free, the lowlier Hindus could better their social positions. Future research in Sikh history might consider

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the possibility that the very fact of continued struggle against Muslim rule attracted recruits to what was effectively a resistance movement. More fundamentally, Sikhism may have offered the cultivators of the Punjab a pattern that was more compatible with the basic tenets of their culture than were the patterns of Hinduism or Islam. At India's present political juncture, the Sikhs still play their historic role. In the recent elections in the Punjab, Sikhs have returned candidates of their own Akali ("timeless") party and so maintain their dual function as a buffer and a bond between Muslim and Hindu.

Professor Archer urges that religions be studied in the context of the whole culture within which they exist. At one point (p. 107) he asks a pertinent question: "And are not politics in the long run an inescapable and valid test of faith?" And a religious movement, Archer concludes, can solve its intrinsic problems only through working out its relationship with other faiths, especially with those that are contemporary and contiguous. No religion in historic times "has arisen of and by itself" and no missionary religion has had more than a "fragmentary, partial, and sectarian" impact, in the first instance at least, upon another faith. Nor can any proselytizing completely convert another faith unless the missionary church itself takes on new characteristics. Archer also notes that a convert, in becoming such, does not really change radically or fundamentally.

Familiar as these observations may be to the historian and anthropologist, at the present time they are of particular significance for the student of comparative religion. These principles can serve as guides for the widespread re-evaluation of mission work that is taking place in Europe and America.

While the book lacks a map, which would have been helpful, its glossary and index are first-rate, and the Princeton University Press is to be congratulated for an unusually attractive format.

University of Minnesota DAVID G. MANDELBAUM

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE FAR EAST. By *Marguerite Eyer Wilbur*. (New York: Richard R. Smith. 1945. Pp. xiii, 477. $7.50.)

THE history of the world's most famous business corporation, the Honourable East India Company, is herein told with verve, color, and an astonishing degree of accuracy. Founded in 1600 to break the monopoly of Portuguese and Dutch merchants trading in the East Indies, the company grew steadily in wealth and power. Under its auspices the greater part of British India was won for the crown. It reached its heyday in the late eighteenth century, shared power with the crown during the first half of the nineteenth, and, to all intents and purposes, was abolished by act of Parliament in 1858.

The many-sided activities of this business enterprise are ably described by Mrs. Wilbur; the early attempts to gain a toe hold in the Dutch East Indies, the inces-

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sant quarrels with the Portuguese on the west coast of India, the settlements along the Coromandel Coast to the east, the rivalry with the French, the founding of Calcutta, the long series of negotiations, wars, and treaties with native rulers, the futile endeavor to pry open the doors of Japan, the success in that direction with China, all these come within the purview of this book.

Skillfully composed within it one also finds a number of subhistories—the history of pepper, the history of tea, the history of chinaware. It would be too great a compliment to dub Mrs. Wilbur the twentieth century Raynal, but it is true that she has caught and has reproduced in this book much of the éclat and comprehensive quality of that famous French writer.

It is unfortunate that the book does not end with the Government of India Act of 1858. It seems uncalled for to carry the story of India down to the Cripps mission. True, the book carries as a subtitle, "The British Empire in the Far East," thus technically permitting the elongation of the narrative. But something is lost and nothing is gained by these added pages. The summary of the Indian mutiny of 1857 is brilliantly done; and with it the work of the company was finished. From either the literary or the logical point of view the book should end here.

One wishes also that more space had been given to explaining and amplifying the constitutional and political significance of the trial of Warren Hastings. The author is thoroughly conversant with the details of this famous trial, but she dismisses, perhaps too cavalierly, the charges made by Edmund Burke in his indictment of Hastings. The reviewer gathers the impression, perhaps unfairly, that the author is so steeped in her subject as at times unwittingly to assume the role of counsel for defense rather than to cleave to that of impartial historian.

One wishes also that the index was more serviceable. Far better adopt the French method of a full table of contents than an index without subindexing, whereby hundreds of meaningless and useless page numbers are given under such general headings as Bengal, England, and so forth.

Aside from these criticisms, this history is thoroughly to be commended, not only to the professional historian who will delight in its excellent bibliography and documentation but also to the general reader whose imagination cannot but be stirred by the dramatic story of the East India Company.

Princeton University WALTER P. HALL

THE CHINESE CONSTITUTION: A STUDY OF FORTY YEARS OF CONSTITUTION-MAKING IN CHINA. By *Pan Wei-tung,* Instructor in Chinese and Area Studies, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University. (Washington: Institute of Chinese Culture. 1945. Pp. xi, 327. $4.00.)

THE desire to establish a stable constitutional government has played an important part in recent Chinese political thought, but the economic, political, and military conditions necessary for success have not been present. Nevertheless, if

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properly analyzed, the history of the constitutional movement can throw considerable light on the development of the Chinese Republic. How constitutions have been drafted to safeguard the ruling power of the moment, how fundamental political conflicts have entered into constitutional issues, how trends in other countries have influenced Chinese constitutionalism—all these aspects of the Chinese political scene deserve careful study.

Dr. Pan Wei-tung has sought to fill the need for a succinct account of China's constitutional development and aspirations. His volume falls into two main parts: an analysis of the subject and a series of appendixes, containing the texts of China's constitutions, draft constitutions, and related documents since 1908. The author's discussion summarizes the evolution of constitutional thought and action, with particular reference to the ideas of Sun Yat-sen and ensuing policies under Chiang Kai-shek. The longest single chapter is devoted to the People's Political Council, a national advisory body created by the Central government in 1938.

Although this volume will be of value to those interested in China's political evolution, it is disappointing when measured against the possibilities of the subject. The author makes frequent references to Chinese political and military conditions, but the terms of the constitutional documents are not linked adequately with the realities out of which they emerged. It is also unfortunate, especially in so brief a work, that many pages in the chapter on the People's Political Council and in the conclusion deal with matters not entirely germane to the subject (for example, the long discussion of the New Fourth Army incident of 1941, or the unhistorical exposition of early Chinese political ideas). Moreover, the book reveals serious shortcomings in style, as well as errors in the romanization of Chinese names and the citation of sources, which more thorough editing could have prevented. Consequently, while the positive aspects of Dr. Pan's work are to be welcomed, it fails to live up to the promise of its title.

New York City LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER

JAPAN'S WAR ECONOMY. By *T. A. Bisson,* Research Associate, Institute of Pacific Relations. (New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations; distributed by Macmillan Company. 1945. Pp. xv, 267. $3.50.)

FEW situations emerging from the late war present greater difficulties or bring forth more diverse opinion among both "experts" and laymen than that which is posed by the question: "What shall we do with Japan?" It is important of course in any effort to answer this question that we should understand the character of the economic structure as it developed in Japan during the war. The present volume is an exposition and analysis of Japan's evolving war economy. To this point it is a welcome and substantial contribution despite the paucity of sources available when this study was in preparation, and the author is at pains to make this limitation clear.

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After tracing the early growth of the demand for economic controls and the economic setting in which the control problem arose, the author develops a well-organized discussion of the control plans of the *Zaibatsu,* the Hoshino plan, the Major Industries Association Ordinance, the development of the cartels, the reorganizations of the cabinet and the creation of the Munitions Ministry, and the "nationalization" of industry. Mr. Bisson is to be complimented on the manner in which he has assembled a rich, factual narrative here presented for the first time. The treatment of the reorganization of Japanese heavy industry in its broader administrative aspects is the major contribution of the study.

Mr. Bisson makes it clear that:

> Up to the outbreak of the Pacific War, the great monopoly enterprises of the *Zaibatsu* operated very largely as autonomous units, linked neither with each other nor with the government through any effectively coercive administrative authority. In 1944-45 the designated enterprises, embracing the major sectors of Japan's industrial economy, were operating under the directives of the Munitions Ministry.

Mr. Bisson's conclusions while provocative and suggestive are, at best, only a partial answer to the Japanese problem. Most students of Japanese affairs will concede the desirability of breaking the *Zaibatsu* and the vastly increased economic and political strength they acquired before and during the war. It remains to be seen, however, whether future research will confirm the author's contention that it was the business group in Japan's ruling coalition which called the tune both during the war and for many years preceding it (p. 203). By implication rather than by direct assertion the author conveys the impression of discounting the force of Japan's long military tradition with its concomitants of chauvinism and parochialism not to mention its peculiar feudal and constitutional features which colored so effectively the whole national character. It may be acknowledged that the *Zaibatsu* were among the principal villains. Whether *as an economic class or group* their role was as pre-eminent and as distinct as here suggested is open to question. Nevertheless, Mr. Bisson's position is quite clear. "Since the twenties this class [the industrial leaders], and not the military, had been the dominant political force in Japan" (p. 143).

Additional factors in the author's solution of the Japanese problem, factors which are not elaborated in this study, include discarding the 1889 constitution and the old bureaucracy. How this latter is to be eliminated is not discussed. Finally, "a constitutional assembly, freely elected by the Japanese people," should "establish the foundations of a new democratic regime." In this procedure the author sees hope for "genuine nationalization measures for large-scale industry which will shake loose the grip of the *Zaibatsu* and thus permit the development of a Japan that can enter into normal and peaceful relations with the other members of the world community."

Duke University PAUL H. CLYDE

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American History

FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY IN THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE. Five lectures delivered on the William W. Cook Foundation at the University of Michigan, December 1944, by *Carl L. Becker*. With an introductory essay by George H. Sabine, Vice President of Cornell University. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. Pp. xlii, 122, 14. $2.50.)

In a long introduction to this, the last of Becker's slender books, Professor Sabine attempts an analysis of the philosophic assumptions of a historian who exerted a marked and even revolutionary influence on the younger generation in the profession. A sympathetic analysis, based upon long association with Becker and corrected by the opinions of colleagues, it is also harsh. Becker would have approved it, because it would have helped him on his endless quest of understanding the intellectual climate of America and his own limitations as a necessary sharer in that climate.

Becker, says Sabine, had a limited circle of ideas. Following Jefferson, who also had a profoundly intellectual interest toward life, he believed that intelligence and integrity and good will among a citizenry alone make great civilizations, and can flourish only in an atmosphere of freedom as against mass emotion or conformity enforced by authority. He never changed in respect to these fundamentals. But though these were for him reference points which another might call absolutes, he believed equally strongly in two powerful forces making for relativism. One was scientific naturalism. Believing that science had disposed once and for all of intelligence and purpose in nature, he hoped to retain moral conviction in men, which he knew came from religious roots, in an environment without religion. The problem, he recognized, was inevitable for the modern world, and his answer was a pure pragmatic one.

The other powerful force was history, which revealed man and his world as an endless process, forever in the making. Regarding history as rooted in the nature of man's consciousness itself, believing great history to be the product of social crisis, the means by which an age becomes conscious of what it is doing in the light of what it has done and hopes to do, Becker held that history should hold a lamp for social reform, for, indeed, any kind of change. The intelligent man must utilize history, cannot act without it. Becker therefore thought so-called objective history to be trivial history, "history for its own sake" to be part of the the literature of escape, and "historical detachment" to be the best substitute for ideas that had yet been invented.

Where Sabine's judgments on Becker, thus briefly summarized, are harsh, they are the judgments of a philosopher who believes in more than pragmatism, whether of science or of history. Becker would have agreed that Sabine had to be harsh, because Sabine had not so identified himself with the American climate of opinion,

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either in its origins or in its subsequent development, as to hope to discover, through the close identification itself, the intelligent means by which Americans might save their humane ideals. Becker deliberately chose pragmatism because America chose it.

In his five lectures Becker asks what is essential to preserve in our liberties, since all cannot be saved today. Freedom of speech, through which only a reasonably just society can be created, does not mean freedom to advocate the overthrow of democracy or freedom to lie, and is to be sustained only in part by law. Bound up with it should be utmost freedom of research and of teaching. These two lectures contain less debatable conclusions than his last two. In the fourth he suggests changing our eighteenth century constitutions in certain respects to suit modern conditions: freedom of assembly today means limiting the monopoly of radio and press to collect and disseminate information; trial by jury fails to determine the facts of guilt or innocence; and most of all, division of political power, through our cherished system of checks and balances, conceals political responsibility. In the fifth lecture on the right of private economic enterprise and the modern collectivism which has threatened it, he pleads for that species of social democracy which, because the preservation of intellectual and political freedom is indissolubly linked with the preservation of economic freedom and private profit, tries to save capitalism by correcting its evils through government regulation.

No device or law, however, Becker repeats again and again, can compensate for the loss of character in a people; *virtue*, as Montesquieu said, is the indispensable guarantee of the republican form of government. Becker never inquires into those forces in the modern world which sap intelligence, integrity, and good will, though in all his recent books, including this one, he has warned against the consequences of their loss. Thus, as Sabine suggests, Becker reveals both the dilemma and the weaknesses of the modern American climate of opinion.

The Newberry Library STANLEY PARGELLIS

THE GROWTH OF CONSTITUTIONAL POWER IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Carl Brent Swisher*. [Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1946. Pp. x, 261. $2.50.)

Now that the smoke and heat of the 1937 Supreme Court controversy have dissipated, and now that the grounds of attack on President Roosevelt's appointment of justices as partisanly New Deal have been to some degree upset by the diversity of viewpoints which the court now presents, there is a calmer appraisal of the situation. As Professor Commager has well said, "There has come a new appreciation of the virtues of our Constitutional system—by no means a return to the filio-pietistic attitude of the mid-nineteenth century, but rather a sober tribute to a system which revealed unexpected resources of adaptation and effectiveness in a series of crises."

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This book is a study of the development of the basic conceptions of our Constitution through decisions of the Supreme Court, imbued with comprehension of corresponding development in the conditions of our national life.

Professor Swisher treats first of federalism as an essential characteristic of our Constitutional system. Equally essential, however, is the fact that the relations between the federal and the state governments cannot remain static. As circumstances change, these relations must change; it is the important duty and high function of the Supreme Court to determine when and how far it must recognize the necessity, and the court must always realize that it cannot long deviate from the dominant prevailing public sentiment involving the comparative relations on a given subject.

A particularly fresh and interesting portion of this book is that in which the point is made that in argument of counsel in court and in geographic or economic divisions of opinion, the attack on federalism is often masked. A statute exercising federal control is often challenged for unconstitutionality, when the real grounds of opposition (especially if a financial or economic measure is involved) is not to the federal control but to the regulation of the particular subject or situation by any government. "If we are to think clearly about Federalism," says Professor Swisher, "we must disentangle the issue of State and Federal relations from that of freedom of enterprise versus control." To writers on legal history, this is a much needed caution.

The second basis of our Constitutional system is termed "The Pendulum of Checks and Balances"—the separation of powers between the three branches of the federal government; and in this connection, especial attention is given to the following topics—changes in executive power, judicial expansion of the commerce clause and of the tax clause, limitation of the scope of due process, and the withdrawal of the Supreme Court from excessive exercise of its restraining power.

The author is somewhat apprehensive as to "The Growth of Administrative Justice." It may well be that the court in the future may have to curb excessive exercise of power by administrative bodies, as in the past it curbed what it considered excess exercise of legislative power; and in this direction Congress itself may also find more restrictive legislation to be necessary.

A third basis of our Constitutional system is its "close association with concepts of liberty." The people at large, however, must keep ever aware that the preservation of the essentials of liberty requires eternal vigilance, and that if they relax in their ideals, they cannot expect courts and legislatures alone to afford protection.

The book closes with three forward-looking chapters on "The Constitution and World Affairs," "New Horizons for the Judiciary," and "The Constitutional System Today."

In addition to its fairness, temperateness, and breadth of understanding of the

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progress of the Constitution, Professor Swisher's book has the merit of being exceedingly readable.

Washington, D. C. CHARLES WARREN

THE COMPLETE WRITINGS OF THOMAS PAINE. In two volumes. Collected and edited by *Philip S. Foner,* with a biographical essay, and notes and introductions presenting the historical background of Paine's writings. (New York: Citadel Press. 1945. Pp. lxiii, 632; xvi, 1520. $6.00.)

DR. Foner's first volume, which is limited to *Common Sense, The American Crisis, Rights of Man, The Age of Reason,* and *Agrarian Justice,* is a bit disappointing because as an edition it does not specify with desirable fullness the texts used, the history of the various editions, variant readings, and the advantages and disadvantages of each text. The thirty-seven page introduction is probably the best strictly *narrative* essay now available in equal space, but since Paine himself placed such enormous emphasis on his logical principles "abstracted from time and usage" it would have been desirable to have paid more attention to a logical articulation of these principles. But of course the chronological-narrative approach enables Dr. Foner to avoid a good many generalizations of which historians might have been suspicious. He writes with wholehearted sympathy, but it may be that there would have been some advantages in sketching in objectively in more detail the counterideas of Paine's opponents, such as Burke, so that the novice would understand in some measure why it was that the French Revolution culminated in the war lord Napoleon and the British conservatives' triumph over him. The bibliography is highly "selected," and omits some important items by Laprade, T. C. Rickman, Félix Rabbe (including his translation of Conway's *Life* with his many additions), Louise Kellogg, and others. The bibliography is without critical annotations.

Especially valuable, however, is Dr. Foner's "Chronological Table of Thomas Paine's Writings." I hope, however, that when the work goes into a second edition Dr. Foner may be persuaded to insert asterisks opposite those items which represent his fresh discoveries so that a reader already familiar with Paine's published work may economize his time. The book jacket says Volume II prints 225 pieces which "have never appeared in any previous collection of Paine's writings," but many of these (such as the Rhode Island Letters) have appeared in separate publications. Nevertheless, Dr. Foner deserves much gratitude for searching innumerable libraries and collections and bringing together a very considerable body of new materials. If these do not appear to necessitate any very drastic modification of the broad outlines of Paine's activities and ideas as generally accepted, they do help greatly in filling in details and should be a valuable quarry for information about the many men and events with which Paine was associated. It is unlikely that much more writing by Paine will be found in America; but Dr. Foner admits

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he has not located some letters to Burke and Lafayette to which Paine refers, and it is possible that, when conditions permit, an exhaustive search in England and France may yield further items. A spot check of the two indexes shows the omission of a considerable number of Paine's references to individual authors and personalities, but this of course can be corrected in a second edition. Volume II, then, is a really monumental contribution (published at a bargain price) of first-hand materials, excellently edited under subject captions with brief introductions and valuable cross references. Dr. Foner's work greatly increases the need for a new comprehensive biography and a full-length study of the development of Paine's ideas in close connection with the tremendous body of contemporary writing which attacked or defended his liberal views and which helps us to chart the adventures of democratic ideas in England, France, and America.

University of Wisconsin HARRY HAYDEN CLARK

NO MAN KNOWS MY HISTORY: THE LIFE OF JOSEPH SMITH, THE MORMON PROPHET. By *Fawn M. Brodie*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1945. Pp. ix, 476, xix. $4.00.)

MRS. Brodie approaches her study with memories of a childhood spent in Utah and with certain understandings that spring from a Mormon background. Her book, however, has neither the adulation of a believer nor the venom of an apostate. She has striven to achieve objectivity and has produced a work that may be called appropriately secular history. She has been diligent in research and has contributed to the body of source materials by uncovering and making available newspaper writings and court records relating to Smith's youth in New York State.

She goes over ground, particularly in the latter half of the book in which her theme is really the early history of the church, that has been many times traversed. Her account is fresh, well organized, and well written. In this aspect of her subject she emphasizes the influence of frontier evangelical Protestantism on the Mormon church in its formative days at Kirtland, Ohio. She maintains persuasively that the chief influence in drawing converts into the church was not Smith but the Book of Mormon, the new scripture. She attempts, however, no study of missionary activity in foreign lands and does not try to appraise the influence of the American frontier itself in adding to the membership of the church.

The new material in the book is that which fills in some of the details of Joseph Smith's youth. She narrates the story of a boy and young man who was an inveterate seeker of treasure and a believer in "peep stones" whose imagination was stimulated by the aboriginal remains found in western New York. The author describes the hostility on the part of the local community which greeted young Smith's story of the golden plates. She has given an excellent circumstantial account of the writing of the Book of Mormon. "The Book of Mormon," she says,

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"was a mutation in the evolution of American literature, curious sport, at once sterile and potent. Although it bred no imitators outside Mormonism and was ignored by literary critics, it brought several hundred thousand immigrants to America in the nineteenth century. The twentieth century sees the distribution of 35,000 copies a year. . . . Scholars of American literary history have remained persistently uninterested in the Book of Mormon. Their indifference is the more surprising since the book is one of the earliest examples of frontier fiction, the first long Yankee narrative that owes nothing to English literary fashions. Except for the borrowings from the King James Bible, its sources are absolutely American."

Mrs. Brodie's work is valuable chiefly as a compilation of information about Joseph Smith and about the history of the church up to the time of his death. She has drawn a surface portrait of the prophet. She avoids psychological or psychiatric analysis or speculation. She makes no effort to explain how a man of Smith's sense of humor could take himself so seriously as to announce himself to be the mouthpiece of deity. Smith, she points out, was not given to the setting down of his innermost thoughts. Perhaps her best chapters are those dealing with the last days in Nauvoo when the storm gathered above the Illinois prairie and with the final scene when a cowardly mob lynched the prisoner in the Carthage jail.

Yale University RALPH H. GABRIEL

LINCOLN THE PRESIDENT: SPRINGFIELD TO GETTYSBURG. In two volumes. By *J. G. Randall,* Professor of History in the University of Illinois. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 1945. Pp. xxi, 395; vii, 439. $7.50.)

PROFESSOR Randall has long been regarded as the outstanding living authority on Lincoln and the American Civil War and its aftermath. The two volumes reviewed here are certain to enhance his reputation, for they contain the best portrayal of Lincoln and his difficult role as President that has to date appeared. Almost every page bears evidence of exhaustive research, careful evaluation of material, keenness of insight and ability to cut through a forest of myths and to piece together all the variegated bits which go to make up a human personality. Because of inability to obtain material that is beyond recovery, any biographical or historical portrayal—and this work is both—is apt to fall short of perfection. But in so far as Professor Randall has been able to unearth the authentic facts this portrayal, subject to the reservations noted below, comes nearer, in the opinion of this reviewer, to past reality than any other work on Lincoln of similar scope.

The two volumes here considered terminate with the Gettysburg Address. In his prefatory remarks—which might well be made required reading for every embryonic historian—the author promises to complete the story by the publication

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of a companion work. Though the title implies that the present volumes are concerned with Lincoln as President, there are six background chapters that have to do with Lincoln's early life and the events leading up to his nomination for the presidency. There is also a long appendix which thoroughly sifts the evidence concerning the highly romanticized Ann Rutledge episode. The almost sixty-page bibliography, containing what the author believes to be a rather full coverage of the significant titles on Lincoln, is important not merely for its selectivity but for its critical quality as well. The author's comments, for example, on the reliability of William H. Herndon and the Herndon-Weik manuscript collection will be of value to every student of Lincoln and his times. Illustrations, a few of which appear in print for the first time, are scattered through both volumes. The format is most attractive and the entire work is remarkably free from the little typographical errors which sometimes escape the proofreader.

No discerning student can read these volumes without being impressed by the author's historical craftsmanship. Though reworking ground already tilled by others he has done it more thoroughly and, as a consequence, with better results. New evidence has been unearthed, myths exploded, partisan misrepresentation exposed, and unfounded tradition blasted. Events and personalities associated with Lincoln appear in a new light: no longer is the emotional Mary Todd the overbearing, bossy, and impossible-to-live-with wife that others have pictured her to be; the corruption and the inefficiency of Cameron are confirmed; the Lincoln-Douglas debates are reanalyzed and their effect upon the political fortunes of the two participants reassessed; Seward's ideas and activities as a member of the cabinet are re-examined; McClellan's career as a military commander is reappraised much to his benefit; the troubled relations of the Washington and Richmond governments with Britain are restudied; border-state problems are again reviewed; the evolutionary character of emancipation is retraced. These and dozens of other items including the causes of Lincoln's many headaches as chief executive and commander in chief of the armed forces come within the purview of Professor Randall's resourceful scholarship.

Despite the excellence of the author's scholarly technique, however, his portrayal, in the opinion of this reviewer, suffers in a few important respects. In the first place he has slighted, though perhaps not intentionally, the economic program of the Republican party during the Civil War years. One searches in vain for an adequate discussion of the congressional implementation of those economic planks that figured so prominently in the Republican platform and campaign of 1860: protection of industry, the building of railways to the Pacific, river and harbor improvement, a homestead law, and the establishment of national banks under national control. To many members of the Republican party these issues, or some of them at least, were no less important than the several aspects of the slavery question itself. Even before 1860 these issues had been a bone of contention between

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the rising industrial class of the North and the planting South and, consequently, a source of sectional antagonism. It is possible, of course, that Professor Randall plans to discuss these issues in his subsequent volumes.

More serious is the author's unwarranted acceptance of the thesis that the slavery question was a social rather than a moral one and that the Civil War was the result of emotional sectional unbalance brought about by irreconcilable agitators and politicians, North and South. And of these the abolitionists, especially those who happened to be Radicals, are pictured as the worst of the lot! Granted that this be true, it does not eliminate the fact that a moral question was involved. Those who attacked the institution of slavery and its champions did so because they believed it to be contrary to the principles of freedom and equality enunciated in the Declaration of Independence and repeatedly stressed by Americans of every generation from Thomas Jefferson to Walt Whitman. Though his major concern was the preservation of the Union, even Lincoln himself came to realize that slavery was immoral and iniquitous and opposed to every canon of human rights. Moreover, in spite of Professor Randall's carefully reasoned arguments to the contrary, one may even maintain that Lincoln entertained such thoughts about the institution of slavery when, in his famous "House Divided against Itself" speech, he declared that the government could not endure permanently half slave and half free; certainly, as the war dragged on, he came to accept, even if somewhat hesitantly, the objectives of the Radicals as far as the institution of slavery was concerned. Herein, too, lies the explanation of the basic opposition of the Radicals to McClellan; they were afraid he was willing to compromise with the South about an institution they were determined to destroy, and, in part, for moral reasons. In this reviewer's mind it is as impossible to eliminate the moral issue of slavery as a fundamental cause of the Civil War as it is to rule out Hitlerism as the major cause of World War II; in both conflicts human rights were at stake. If it be argued that economic considerations as well as moral issues motivated the Republican party in Lincoln's time, it is well to remember that Americans, particularly in times of stress, can be both pragmatic and idealistic.

Notwithstanding these objections, Professor Randall has made an outstanding contribution to our biographical and historical literature. The companion volumes to come will be eagerly awaited.

Columbia University HARRY J. CARMAN

MR. LINCOLN'S CAMERA MAN: MATHEW B. BRADY. By *Roy Meredith.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1946. Pp. xiii, 368, 135 illustrations. $7.50.)

A NEWSPAPER once reported a strike in the Remington Arms Company plant by saying, "Loyal employees came to work with their Winchesters." In similar vein, *Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man,* a book of photographs with great shocking

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power, presents itself to the public with a Thomas Nast cartoon on the jacket.

The text of the book violates all academic orthodoxy. The author's sources include Brady's journal, his scrapbook of newspaper clippings, his notes for a lecture, *Harper's Weekly,* Carl Sandburg's *War Years,* and Joseph S. Pennell's *History of Rome Hanks.* The author's spelling is equally erratic. A reader must be prepared to see: Sumpter, Heintzleman, Mary Suratt, Greely, Alexander H. Stevens. He will be told that Ward Hill Lamon in February, 1861, was "City Marshall [*sic*]" of Washington; that Sumter was the "last of the U. S. outposts in Southern waters"; that the Baltimore riot occurred in May, 1861; that Jackson's Hermitage was in Kentucky; that Carl Schurz was Secretary of Indian Affairs. The book needs an index; quotations should be annotated; and the bibliography is naïve. Often an author's name is omitted altogether. But the prize entry is: "Dictionary of American Biography—New York Public Librray [*sic*]."

Oozing errors at every page and pore the author has the last laugh, and it is on the professional historian. For this book has not only great shocking power but it shoots at the mark with extremely flat trajectory. Meredith reconstructs the past with minimum deviation. The jacket blurb advertises 120 hitherto unpublished pictures in this work. Perhaps so, but the master pictures, the ones that talk, have been reproduced before. The author's contribution is his skill in arranging old familiar pictures with artistry that makes them appear new—certainly a great achievement for any historian.

"Brady" ceases to be a trade name on a picture, like "sterling" on silver, when Roy Meredith finishes with him. The little man with the pointed beard, busy and bowing like a sandpiper, lives again on the broad pages of this book. Meredith's artistic skill has triumphed over "scientific method" as surely as ancient bronzes outlive the most prodigious scholarship. With a sense for aesthetic values not taught in history classes, Roy Meredith displays Daniel Webster and his thunder-clouded brow most effectively enlarged to royal octavo. Exquisitely he portrays Henry Clay, frail, stubnosed, skin sagging and mottled with old age, his thin hands showing in a waist-length cut. Meredith has picked the right pose for hard, foreign-faced Beauregard, affable, acquisitive A. T. Stewart, rustic Brigham Young, practical P. T. Barnum, John C. Frémont with the timid studious face characteristic of many explorers. He has selected a picture of Walt Whitman with eyes like Lincoln's, looking to horizons most people cannot see; of Thurlow Weed with a Quaker face and left eyebrow that curls up like Mephistopheles'; of swivel-eyed Pinkerton; puritanic Jeff Davis; Lee, strong, calm, and handsome; General George A. Custer in a pose worth the price of the book. With all his lack of academic dogma Roy Meredith's book reveals a quality of real distinction.

Illinois State Historical Library JAY MONAGHAN

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BORDER COMMAND: GENERAL PHIL SHERIDAN IN THE WEST. By *Carl Coke Rister*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1944. Pp. xii, 244. $2.75.)

Dr. Rister is primarily concerned in this volume with Sheridan's "punishment-shall-follow-the-crime" policy toward the Southern Plains Indians during the years 1867-1871, but he also covers the high lights of Sheridan's career from Appomattox to his death in 1888. Thus, there is a chapter on his part in bringing about the downfall of Maximilian in Mexico, a second on his short-lived military governorship of Louisiana and Texas, an account of his experiences as an observer in the Franco-Prussian War, and brief summaries of the Red River and Sioux wars. The latter is more concerned with Custer than with Sheridan and consists of little more than another version of the Battle of the Little Big Horn. The author believes that Sheridan was successful when able to strike with "the sharp edge of the sword" but did not understand how to apply "the flat of the sword." These terms are used to mean that he knew how to bring force to bear on a problem but was not adept in the subtleties of administration. It is also to be noted that the general's successes were frequently at the expense of government policy as conceived in Washington.

When he took command of the Department of the Missouri early in 1868, Sheridan faced the unhappy task of trying to enforce the Medicine Lodge Treaty of the previous year. The resentful Indians did not stay peacefully within the limits established, and Sheridan undertook his controversial punitive campaign during the winter of 1868-1869 when they were least able to resist. Two thirds of the narrative is devoted to events connected with this campaign and its aftermath, culminating in the trial of Satanta and Big Tree in 1871. If one accepts the necessity of enforcing the treaty and assumes the inevitability of white advance regardless of Indian needs and rights, the course taken may be considered as beneficial, in the long run, to all concerned. Dr. Rister upholds the "realistic" treatment—in contrast to the "Quaker Policy" of the Indian Office—as effective, concluding that "in the light of history, Sheridan's policy was justified." Although the story is told interestingly, being both concise and colorful, the present reviewer found the chronology somewhat confusing in places because of the manner in which background material is introduced and the infrequent indication of years. The bibliography shows familiarity with the pertinent sources, including records in the National Archives, but there are no citations throughout the text.

Washington, D. C. Jesse S. Douglas

WILLIAM SYLVIS, PIONEER OF AMERICAN LABOR: A STUDY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT DURING THE ERA OF THE CIVIL WAR. By *Jonathan Grossman*. [Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, edited by

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the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, Number 516.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1945. Pp. 302. $3.50.)

UNTIL the publication of Dr. Grossman's thesis, we lacked, except for the brief *Dictionary of American Biography* sketch, any objective picture of William (H.) Sylvis, the first national leader in American labor history. Now, for a detailed view of his life, one need no longer rely on his brother's apologetic account or on any disguised factional polemic. One has Dr. Grossman's report of the first systematic search of primary sources, which does not so much upset established notions as adequately fill out a formerly spotty picture.

Sylvis gained national importance as the able and devoted leader of the iron molders in their tortuous effort to organize for mutual protection and advancement. He went on to set up in 1866 the National Labor Union, the first general American labor assembly. The NLU's size was, perhaps, exaggerated in the past (Dr. Grossman doubts the commonly accepted figure of 600,000), and it died in 1872. But its basic idea was never more alive than today. Sylvis did much to set the pattern out of which came the standard labor union of the A. F. of L. tradition.

If the viability of private enterprise rests in part on limitations which labor unions set on entrepreneurs, then Sylvis' pioneering deserves enduring record in any general American history text. Dr. Grossman, however, probably would not claim that the record need be fuller than that inscribed, say, by the Beards in their book almost two decades ago. And if the trade union is, as argued by some, primarily a time bomb under a culvert on "the American way," Sylvis will loom even less importantly. True, he was one of the first native Americans to be in direct touch with Marx's International. But Sylvis, a Union Democrat, was willing before the Civil War to see slavery perpetuated on the basis of the Crittenden proposal, could the Union thereby be preserved. And for a considerable time he looked to co-operatives, those guardians of capitalist market freedom, to protect labor. He was not, then, logically consistent.

The securing of what has recently been called "a greater cut in the pie" for labor was Sylvis' goal. Of course, like many another, he could mouth a polysyllable and spin a doctrine, on occasion, to the embarrassment of most of his followers. ("A little blood-letting is sometimes necessary.") But Sylvis had his eye primarily on the pie slab and Dr. Grossman's contribution is to show how he labored constantly to increase it.

The date of Sylvis' birth is misstated as November 28, 1828; according to the best source, he was born November 26. The volume should have been better indexed. And there seems no clear reason why the book's subject gets his middle initial in an introduction and appendix, but neither in title nor main text. Such little defects recall wartime obstacles to efficient scholarly production.

New York City HERBERT SOLOW

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SANTA FE: THE RAILROAD THAT BUILT AN EMPIRE. By *James Marshall* (New York: Random House. 1945. Pp. xvi, 465. $3.75.)

THIS book is the first attempt to present a complete story of the longest and one of the most important railway systems in the United States. A journalist and railway "fan," Mr. Marshall knows what makes a good story and how to tell it. Inevitably, much has been omitted from this single volume because of limitations of space, but all the subjects covered are important. In his 348 pages of text, Mr. Marshall tells how and by whom the road was founded, follows its expansion (more or less in terms of the various states), includes informative chapters on such special phases as the Royal Gorge War, the extensions to the Pacific Coast and to Chicago, the Harvey organization, the wartime performance of the system, and the technical wonders of the modern railway. Appendixes that cover 100 pages include, among other things, the origin of the Santa Fe town names, a description of the company's departments and trains, financial statistics, and a useful summary describing the construction and corporate history of every mile of Santa Fe track. Throughout the book, Mr. Marshall amply displays his rare gift for synthesis, and his tale unfolds with such gusto and charm that it will most certainly attract a wide and enthusiastic audience. *Santa Fe* should prove eminently satisfactory to the railroad that sponsored it as a booster of employee morale and as an attractive gesture in public relations.

As a work of history, this volume leaves much to be desired. Countless outright errors (*e.g.*, pp. 9, 14, 130, 160, 170, 201, 216, 282, etc.), contradictions of varying degrees (*e.g.*, pp. 42-166, 57-75, 249-294-326, 387, etc.), naïve and sweeping statements (*e.g.*, pp. 18, 39, 120, 159, 225, 238, 263, 270, 303, 304, etc.), wretched proofreading (*e.g.*, pp. 54, 151, 192, 293, 298, etc.), inadequate maps (there is no good system map and no mileage scale on any of the existing nineteen maps), a lack of documentation (only one authority is cited, on p. 170), and a woefully incomplete bibliography combine to produce a volume that is unreliable and of doubtful permanent value.

This book poses sharply the dilemma which now exists in the writing of business history. The story of the Santa Fe, and of many another railroad and corporation, deserves a more scholarly and more thorough treatment than that offered by Mr. Marshall; unless they receive it at the hands of trained historians, it is doubtful whether we shall ever have accurate business history. On the other hand, historians must demonstrate their ability to tell a story as well as Mr. Marshall; unless they do, both the corporations and the public will continue to demand and to read popular and inadequate accounts.

Northwestern University RICHARD C. OVERTON

THE WILDCATTERS: AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF OIL-HUNTING IN AMERICA. By *Samuel W. Tait, Jr.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. xvi, 218. $3.00.)

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THE book treats principally of the early histories of the chief oil fields of the United States with special emphasis on the fields of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio.

Dr. F. H. Lahee, one of our ablest students of the results of wildcat drilling, defines an oil wildcat as, "a hole drilled completely outside the known boundaries of pools already developed and far enough from producing areas to be essentially a test of new possibilities. Generally speaking, such a hole would be at least 2 or 3 miles from production but where subsurface conditions may change within short distances, as in the case of lensing sands and salt dome structures . . . a test may be regarded as a wildcat, even if it is only ½ or ¾ miles from production or from an abandoned dry hole." There is nothing reprehensible about a wildcat or about a wildcatter, although this has been implied. The wildcatter is a man of imagination and often of ingenuity. If we did not have them, in a few years we would not have any oil industry. Tait shows how oilmen without much, if any, knowledge of geology migrated westward from Pennsylvania and West Virginia into Ohio, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and even into California. Often they put down a hole without any very good reason, but many such holes were successful and brought in new fields.

Many oil deposits are not in anticlines, the usual underground reservoirs or "structures," but in stratigraphic traps, where oil-bearing beds are sealed off by faults or by impervious beds that were laid over an oil-bearing bed or by other means so that the oil was prevented from escaping from it. Most of such fields were found by wildcatters, for example, the great East Texas oil field which probably is the greatest field in the world producing high grade oil.

As Tait says, the first serious attempt in the United States to develop an oil industry was at Titusville, Pennsylvania, by E. L. Drake in 1859. The surface indication was an oil spring which streaked the water of a stream. The first well was small but better ones followed, and thus the great Appalachian oil field was developed. The Drake well was not on an anticline. From Pennsylvania, exploration was rapidly carried into West Virginia. There also much of the oil was found low on the flanks of upfolds or the downfolds, with insufficient water to float the oil. The gas, however, as shown by I. C. White was in the upfolds. Exploration was continued west into Ohio and Indiana. At Findlay, Ohio, gas seeps were discovered in underground excavations and a physician, Dr. Charles Oesterlin, determined to explore one of them for gas. He and associates drilled a well in 1884 and discovered gas at a depth of 1,092 feet. This and following explorations resulted in the opening of the great Lima-Indiana oil field. The East Illinois oil fields were developed partly as a result of oil seeping into coal mines from drill holes sunk to prospect for coal. The Eastern belt of oil fields was discovered about 1905. The great interior basin fields in Illinois were developed about 1937, partly by contouring coal beds for structure but largely through the use of geophysics. In Oklahoma much data was obtained in the early days from wells sunk for water,

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but later close geologic mapping played an important part here and also in Texas and other great states of the mid-continent field.

Mr. Tait's book is historical rather than geological and his contributions are to the history of oil discovery east of the Mississippi River rather than to those farther west.

University of Minnesota W. H. Emmons

AMERICA IS WEST: AN ANTHOLOGY OF MIDDLEWESTERN LIFE AND LITERATURE. Edited by *John T. Flanagan*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1945. Pp. vii, 677. $3.75.)

The title of this book comes from a line by Archibald Macleish, "America is West and the wind is blowing," but the idea that lies back of the title is as much Flanagan's as Macleish's. The two would agree, no doubt, that the mainspring of American literary life has migrated from the shores of the Atlantic to the nation's "heartland," an interior area called by historians the Middle West, but by geographers—with greater accuracy and less felicity—the North Central States. "A new country," as the editor points out, "turns to self-expression only after the more pressing needs of food and shelter have been satisfied." This turn the Middle West long since has made. Branded generously as the "most American part of America," it did indeed produce, well before the end of the nineteenth century, such notables as Mark Twain, Edward Eggleston, Hamlin Garland, and E. W. Howe; more latterly, Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, Edgar Lee Masters, Floyd Dell, Sherwood Anderson, Carl Sandburg, Willa Cather, Ole Rölvaag, Ruth Suckow, James T. Farrell, and many another. For the last few decades, as Flanagan points out, American literature has been primarily the story of these middle western men and women.

In assembling this anthology the editor has attempted to trace clearly from its beginnings to the present the evolving pattern of middle western life and literature. Perhaps the sampling process, necessary in the construction of such a book, provides as good a technique as any for following the region's rapid transition from Indian and pioneer simplicity to modern industrial complexity. Professor Flanagan correctly refuses to restrict his selections to the writings of natives, for "the earliest men to picture what is now the Middle West were visitors from Europe or from the Atlantic seaboard," and their accounts are essential, if the record is to be complete. By the early nineteenth century, however, books were being produced by permanent settlers, and soon after 1850 native-born writers were making contributions in both prose and verse. From travelers, permanent settlers, and natives, from historians, novelists, and poets, the editor collects such gleanings as may suit his purpose. One fancies that he regretted the necessity of being limited to "verbal expression," that if he could have done it he would gladly have thrown in some paintings by Grant Wood, John Steuart Curry, and

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Thomas Hart Benton, some houses by Frank Lloyd Wright, and even a few examples of the best the region has done by way of music and dramatic arts, all as further evidence that the Middle West has developed a distinctive culture.

The collection contains ninety-nine selections from eighty-four different authors. These excerpts from the literature of the Middle West concern themselves with the geography of the Great Valley; with folklore and legend; with Indians, explorers, and travelers; with the rivers, forests, and farms of the frontier; with the small towns that stopped growing, and the cities that would not stop; with middle westerners that won renown; with a few self-conscious interpretations of limited aspects of middle western life by middle westerners. It covers the field with remarkable thoroughness, and presents unmistakable evidence of the intelligent regionalism and the regional intelligence that have come to characterize the Middle West.

This book well deserves to be read, but one wonders a little who will actually read it. Anthologies are rarely much valued by the ordinary book buyer, who generally prefers a less variegated diet. It is possible that a market may be found among college students who "take courses" in American literature. They could learn much, certainly, both from the editor's admirable biographic sketches of authors, and from the mosaic of "regional self-awareness" he has put together. The occasional student might, indeed, be tempted to read more extensively in some of the books upon which the editor has drawn.

In any event this is a unique, and we hope a usable book. It should go far towards disabusing of their prejudices those who still think that nothing of consequence ever came out of the West.

University of California JOHN D. HICKS

SUOMI JA AMERIKAN SUOMALAISET [FINLAND AND THE AMERICAN FINNS]. By *Rafael Engelberg*. (Helsinki: Suomi Seura. 1944. Pp. 491. $3.75.)

Suomi ja Amerikan Suomalaiset, one of Finland's first peacetime literary exports, is more than a "hands across the Atlantic" gesture. It is a careful, well-documented investigation of the varied contacts between the widely separated kinfolk and a useful guide to the establishment of more satisfactory relations.

The traditional Old Country attitude that emigrants were despicable betrayers of their fatherland—a point of view finding expression, for example, in the writings of Juhani Aho and Johannes Linnankoski—slowly gave way, as Dr. Engelberg's study shows, to a growing appreciation of the worth and the achievements (and one is tempted to add, the possible usefulness) of the Finnish Americans. Many of the latter, on the other hand, in experiencing a thrilling rediscovery of a homeland that rose to independence and continued in the spotlight of swiftly moving international developments, tended to forget earlier grievous shortcomings respon-

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sible for mass emigration. The forces breaking down the isolation of the Finnish people living on both sides of the ocean, the numerous contacts through music, art, literature, education, newspapers, and travel, are catalogued in painstaking detail by Dr. Engelberg. The materials on the rise and spread of emigration; the contribution of the Finland Steamship Company to the swelling tide; and the efforts of private and public agencies to deal with the "distressing" phenomenon are substantial and revealing.

Certain assumptions and emphases, however, may be questioned. The yardstick used for measuring immigrant institutions—the presence of a friendly attitude toward the mother country and her culture—leads Dr. Engelberg to evaluate unfairly the Finnish American movements (as the working class) whose orientation was properly American or international rather than Finnish. In his attachment to the cause of friendly relations the author has apparently overlooked the pointed advice given in 1929 by the *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*: "If you insist that it is the Finnish American's responsibility to remain Finnish, if you demand it of him, then your activity is—throwing water on a swan's back." Little attention is given to the native-born Americans of Finnish stock; yet the immigrants themselves realize that the fate of their national institutions depends more upon their American-born offspring than upon any contacts with Finland.

As one of Dr. Engelberg's predecessors observed in 1925, it is probably too late to build very many bridges. But *Suomi ja Amerikan Suomalaiset* promises to survive as a pioneering work in a relatively unexplored area and is therefore a welcome addition to the larger program of research outlined two decades ago by the late Marcus L. Hansen ("The History of American Immigration as a Field for Research," *American Historical Review,* XXXII [April, 1927], 500-18).

Heidelberg College J. I. Kolehmainen

THE STORY OF WOODROW WILSON, TWENTY-EIGHTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, PIONEER OF WORLD DEMOCRACY. By *Ruth Cranston* (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1945. Pp. xv, 478. $3.50.)

MY AUNT LOUISA AND WOODROW WILSON. By *Margaret Axson Elliott.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1944. Pp. vii, 302. $3.00.)

A second world war and the making of the peace have awakened new interest in the war President and the peacemaker of World War I. Hence the appearance in the past year or two of several new books on Woodrow Wilson. Most of these recent publications deal with some particular aspect of his career, especially with his part in the formation of the League of Nations and in the failure of the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Mrs. Cranston's work is properly called "The Story of Woodrow Wilson," for it is a narrative, primarily, written for the general reader, not for the special student. It is useful in that it presents in one fair-sized, readable volume the entire life-span of Woodrow Wilson, man and President.

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From the foreword the reader would get the impression that through friendship with the Wilson family Mrs. Cranston had access to Mr. Wilson's private and official correspondence not open to others. But the impression is corrected by the author's acknowledgements at the end of the book, which indicate that the Wilson Papers to which she refers are those which other recent writers have used from the important documentary collection presented to the Library of Congress by Mrs. Wilson. From the text itself there is no evidence of new material not hitherto used, at least in relation to Wilson's public life. The first chapter on Wilson's youth and family life is written with the warmth and intimacy of a family friend. The last two chapters, the most important of the volume, devoted to the "Peace Maker" and the "League That Failed," are the testimony of a Wilsonian disciple and firm adherent of the League as Wilson's masterpiece. The interpretation of Mr. Wilson throughout is sympathetic, as one would expect from an author who places herself frankly as friend and steadfast admirer. But the story does not unduly bend to distort evidence in presenting Mr. Wilson as kindly, amusing, and wholly admirable in his private life and heroic in his public career.

In the second book, Mr. Wilson is seen not as war President or as world hero, but as a delightful, witty, and always kind big brother-in-law by his wife's youngest sister. He was "a noticeable man," and "his eyes were the nicest she had ever seen." The greater part of the book deals with life in the small Georgia town where Wilson married Ellen Axson and with the household of the professor and later the president, at Princeton. Only the last chapter carries Wilson to the White House. This is a strictly personal narrative, of value in what appears to be a genuinely remembered and a frank portrayal of Brother Woodrow, who happened later to become President of the United States. Mrs. Elliott writes with sprightly wit of life in the small town which she calls "Illyria," a name which vaguely conceals Rome, Georgia, and of the family household in Princeton, always bulging with kin but always kind. In the not too ample home of the college professor there was welcome for any number of Axsons or Wilsons. The slim professor's salary seemed elastic enough to stretch generously to care for relatives who needed a home. To general readers and to students who wish to understand what manner of man was President Wilson this account by his devoted young sister-in-law will make a corrective to other character studies. It is the antithesis of the austere, somewhat merciless President as he appears in the portrait painted by Sargent.

Vassar College C. Mildred Thompson

ALASKA: PROMYSHLENNIK AND SOURDOUGH. By *Stuart Ramsay Tompkins.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1945. Pp. xiv, 350. $3.00.)

Of the nineteen chapters comprising this book, two treat of boundary claims, one and one-half of problems of government under United States rule, and one of the recent situation and current outlook of the territory. The rest treat of

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exploration, trade, and exploitation, with more than half the space allotted to the pre-United States period. The author has drawn upon knowledge acquired in serving as a superintendent of schools in Yukon Territory, and in writing his *Russia through the Ages* (1940). He testifies that his bibliography for this latest book contains more than eleven hundred titles; and he proffers a thirty-four page, selective, and classified list, largely ante-1867, and including much Russian and German material used in translation. However, the citations in the text are surprisingly sparse for a book containing the amount of detail which has been compressed into this one. It is a historical summary based largely on the best of the secondary sources, and running from the earliest efforts at exploration through the life of the fur trade and on into the mining and fishing eras. Eight maps and twenty-seven well-chosen illustrations help to place affairs in focus; but the ten-page index cannot well cover the details crowded into the text and therefore proves an inadequate tool.

The flags of Russia, Spain, England, and the United States fly over these pages as one rivalry succeeds another. Alaskan affairs are correlated with international trends (we need more such correlations in our United States histories), and with developments in the neighboring Yukon Territory. Summaries of this character, covering the efforts of various governments to control and exploit large and remote areas, usually become a bit cluttered and disorderly in sequence. This volume suffers somewhat from these difficulties where quite insignificant persons and their efforts are dragged in. However, the author's obvious interest in, and familiarity with, the hardships of exploration and the practical exigencies of pioneer politics frequently move him to pungent prose. To mention but a few such passages, reference may be had to the striking metaphors on pages 196, 275, 278, to the very vivid picturization on page 201, and to the revelatory quotations on pages 23, 59, 107, and 190. A reference to a Committee on Territories member as "Senator J. Beveridge" has its amusing aspect, for it would certainly have irritated that gentleman no end.

The author hopes that Alaskans and federal officials may get from this book a wider knowledge of past history and present problems, which in turn may clarify for them two fundamental facts: (1) that little of the wealth produced in Alaska accrues to the benefit of the permanent population and (2) that the Alaskans must wring their livelihood against terrific odds in transportation, living conditions, and community life. Too few of the people who most need to see this book are likely to do so. They are the many persons who today are too sure that Alaska offers them an easy road to fortune; currently, the territory is embarrassed and victimized by hasty, uninformed migrants, ill-fitted to cope with its special challenges.

Alaska is richest in controversial issues; this author, unlike many, avoids overstressing them. Even the gross waste on the Alcan Highway could scarcely be gathered from his restrained references to that venture.

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

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BRAZIL: PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS. By *T. Lynn Smith*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1946. Pp. xxiv, 843. $6.50.)

THIS comprehensive study of Brazil's 41,000,000 people and their institutions can best be compared with the achievements of that country's explorers three and four centuries ago. These *bandeirantes* or flag-bearers—the equivalent of our own Lewis and Clark, Canada's Peter Pond and Alexander Mackenzie—ranging tirelessly over vast extents of rugged and unknown territory, gave to Brazil boundaries that embrace half of all South America. They also bequeathed to generations to follow the gigantic task of consolidating and co-ordinating in one whole a land so varied, so important economically and so situated strategically that their success or failure has import for the entire world.

After three years of sociological and economic expeditions into the complex life of that land, Bandeirante Smith reports his findings under five different heads: (1) the cultural diversity of a people who represent every possible combination of the original Portuguese, Indian, and African systems of living and those imposed regionally by Dutch, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Spanish American, and, in lesser degree, by two score more nationalities; (2) the demographic features of this Portuguese America, as differentiated from Spanish America; (3) standards and levels of living; (4) relations of the people to the land; (5) principal social institutions, with analyses and descriptions. A sixth and corollary expedition is made into the voluminous regional literatures of Brazil. In conclusion, he offers his personal suggestions to improve Brazilian welfare and living standards.

Such a book must be judged, as Mr. Smith himself recommends, "in the light of what it was possible to do and not by what one might desire to see done." It is a pioneer work, outlining the boundaries within which delvers to come must consolidate and co-ordinate Brazil's sociology into one whole.

This has not been possible until now: for one reason, because Brazil's own authorities have been limited to regional studies or single planes of the complicated national picture; for another, because no complete and accurate census and statistical study of Brazil ever was made until 1940. Mr. Smith's 1920—and earlier—statistics are less applicable to his thesis than those of 1870 would be to a survey of American sociology today.

One hesitates to criticize so difficult a task, so painstakingly accomplished. But as Mr. Smith himself makes suggestions, perhaps one may be permitted for those who will sow where he has plowed. It is this writer's observation that modern Brazil does not evolute; she revolutes. The world is her laboratory. Thus, in various parts of the country, she leaps from the wooden sandal to the high-heeled, toeless pump, from the dugout to the airplane. Her own past only partially illuminates her present.

Grand Forks, North Dakota VERA KELSEY

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. . . Other Recent Publications . . .

General History

THE NATIONALITIES OF EUROPE AND THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL IDEOLOGIES. By *H. Munro Chadwick*, Hon. Fellow of Clare College and formerly Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. viii, 209, $4.00.) The author had a praiseworthy purpose in writing this book, but he failed to achieve sufficient structural unity of the parts to render the work useful. He sought to make his knowledge of medieval language and literature, of which he is a distinguished scholar, the basis for assisting the British people and government to overcome their general lack of knowledge of present-day Europe. To that end he devoted most of his book to problems of the geographic distribution of the languages of Europe, the relation of linguistic development to the growth of national feeling, of "Pan-" movements, and of imperialism. While these chapters cover the changes in modern times, including those of the present century, they are mainly concerned with the Middle Ages. The accounts will please anyone interested in rich historical detail, especially of the early periods, on these topics; but they are of no particular significance for the understanding of modern nationality problems and of nationalism. In the reviewer's opinion, the title of the book is misleading and betrays the author's confusion of thought. The reader will discover that the work offers nothing of consequence about the "Nationalities of Europe" except linguistic facts, and will be entirely disappointed with the author's meager conception of the "Growth of National Ideologies." The first chapter, entitled "Nationality and Language," contributes nothing new to the subject and contains a questionable conception of nationalism, while setting the theme of the entire book by overemphasizing the significance of language in the history of nationality problems and of nationalism. This exaggeration can be explained only on grounds of the author's specialization in medieval language and literature. The jump from chapter VIII, dealing with "The Prehistoric Foundations" of "The Claims to Domination," to chapter IX, "Yesterday and Tomorrow," illustrates the difficulties of trying to follow the author's thought. Chapter IX offers a haphazard and rambling discussion of current political problems of no value whatever. The only part of the last chapter, "Our Weakness and Its Remedy," worth reading is the proposal to establish an "Institute of Imperial and International Studies"; but the reviewer does not comprehend why this excellent proposal should have been buried at the end of this particular book.

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

RENAISSANCE GUIDES TO BOOKS: AN INVENTORY AND SOME CONCLUSIONS. By *Archer Taylor*, Fellow of the Newberry Library. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1945, pp. 130, $1.50.) Professor Taylor's book is concerned with reference works and bibliographies published between 1500 and 1700 (to designate which period the term "Renaissance," as used in this study, is given a restricted and purely chronological meaning). The work is divided into two parts: an analytical section, and a list of all the bibliographical works mentioned in the introductory analysis. Although this list makes no claim to completeness, it can serve as a guide to the chief reference works composed between 1500 and 1700 and as such will be of great in-

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terest to scholars concerned with the intellectual developments of that period. Its usefulness is increased by the fact that Professor Taylor has indicated the libraries in which those volumes available in the United States are to be found. The main purpose of the analytical section is to discuss the various types of reference works and bibliographical guides available in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The impression left by the essay is that the bibliographical apparatus possessed by sixteenth and seventeenth century scholars, though somewhat more difficult to use, was hardly less comprehensive than our own. In this sense, the study is a useful reminder concerning the advanced state of the scholarly techniques of the period. In concluding his essay, Professor Taylor raises the question of the continuous bibliographical tradition, which had lasted uninterruptedly until the second half of the seventeenth century, and asks why this tradition was then broken off, older works no longer revised nor brought up to date, and a completely new start made. His own answer is that this "break in the bibliographical tradition" was the result of a new attitude toward the past, which developed during the late 1600's and permeated all fields of endeavor. FELIX GILBERT

THE SCHELDT QUESTION TO 1839. By *S. T. Bindoff.* With a Foreword by G. J. Renier. (London, George Allen and Unwin, 1945, pp. ix, 238, 10*s.* 6*d.*) Like the Rhine and the Seine, the Scheldt is a vital factor in the life of western Europe. How striking, for example, the diversity of its medieval riparian states—Flanders, Brabant, Zeeland, and Holland! How rich its history—religious, artistic, political, social, and economic! And how complex the status of the waters of the Scheldt delta, the sea approaches to Antwerp! Particularly commendable in this study is the space devoted to the medieval antecedents of the Scheldt question. The author traces the development of the Scheldt delta from Roman days when the present group of islands constituted a solid block of land and the Scheldt extended to the estuary of the Maas (Meuse). The confusing tangle of waterways—the Striene, East Scheldt (Ooster-Schelde), West Scheldt (Wester-Schelde), Honte, Wielingen, besides those connecting them—are carefully described. We are pleased to note Dr. Bindoff's clarification of the location of the Honte, which all of us identified with the West Scheldt but in fact seems to have been restricted to the eastern end of this estuary. Concentration of trade, so pronounced a feature of medieval life, evoked a variety of efforts to regulate commerce on the waters of the delta. The tolls at Iersekeroord and Middelburg have received extended treatment from the author's pen, for they led to Antwerp's determined effort to secure unrestricted access to the sea. During the Eighty Years' War, especially after the fall of Antwerp in 1585, this struggle resulted in the closure of the Scheldt. Conceived in the interests of Zeeland and Holland, this closure was continued even during the Twelve Years' Truce from 1609 to 1621, written into the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, maintained in spite of every major crisis thereafter until the French Revolution, discontinued during the union of the northern with the southern Netherlands, and finally given its modern status by the Treaty of 1839. Presented in a lucid manner, this, the best survey of the Scheldt question in English, deserves the gratitude of all.
HENRY S. LUCAS

GREECE. By *A. W. Gomme,* Lecturer in Ancient Greek History, University of Glasgow. [The World To-day.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1945, pp. vii, 131, $1.25.)

A HISTORY OF ARMENIAN CHRISTIANITY, FROM THE BEGINNING TO OUR OWN TIME. By *Leon Arpee.* (New York, Armenian Missionary Association of America, 1946, pp. 404, $3.00.) "A chronological study of the development of Chris-

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tianity in Armenia, with the emphasis on the Armenian Evangelical Church, its foundation and doctrines. A centennial volume marking the one hundredth anniversary of Armenian Protestantism, 1846–1946."

NEWMAN: COMMEMORATIVE ESSAYS. (New York, Paulist Press, 1946, pp. 57.) Papers composed by seminarians from St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, Yonkers, New York, with a foreword by the Reverend Florence D. Cohalan.

ESTUDIOS SOBRE LA FIEBRE AMARILLA. By *Carlos J. Finlay.* [Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación, Cuadernos de Cultura, Sexta Serie, Número 5.] (Havana, P. Fernández, 1945, pp. 184.) This small volume should have a wide circulation, especially in the United States, where, on account of the extensive publicity given to the experiments of Dr. Walter Reed and his associates, the real pioneer in the conquest of yellow fever has not received the credit due him. It is true that in recent years attempts have been made to remedy this injustice, but the 1945 edition of a widely known encyclopedia, in its article on yellow fever, omits even the name of Dr. Carlos J. Finlay. Dr. Finlay began his investigations as early as 1872. Preliminary studies led him to the belief that the disease was attributable to the alcalinity of the air. In a paper read before the Cuban Academy of Science he suggested this possibility. His observations of outbreaks of the disease in Cuba about 1880, compared with those of earlier years in Cuba and elsewhere, convinced him that it was transmitted from one person to another through an intermediate agent. While experimenting on this hypothesis he was sent as delegate from Cuba and Puerto Rico to the International Sanitary Conference of 1881 in Washington. Here Dr. Finlay first announced his theory to the world at the session of February 18. Although he made no mention of the suspected agent, the truth is that Dr. Finlay had already singled out the culprit as the female of one of the hundreds of known species of mosquitoes, and had taken with him to Washington some of the suspects so that his experiments would not be interrupted. Upon returning to Havana he set about the dangerous task of testing his theory on human beings. Twenty soldiers, recently arrived from Spain and thus unacclimated, and a number of civilian volunteers, including Dr. Finlay himself, agreed to suffer the test. Between June 21 and August 14, 1881, these heroes submitted to mosquitoes' indignities, and on the latter date Dr. Finlay gave his conclusions to the Cuban Academy of Science, calling attention to the mistaken theory he had previously presented, and expounding the steps that had led him to adopt another. His new theory was that the disease could be transmitted only by an intermediate agent, namely the mosquito of his experiments. The members of the academy, not to be swept off their feet, voted very conservatively to lay Dr. Finlay's paper on the table. Disappointed, no doubt, Dr. Finlay continued his experiments. During the next ten years he inoculated some sixty-seven persons by means of mosquitoes. In 1891 he renewed his report to the yet unimpressed academy, but not for another ten years did vindication come. When the physicians of the American army of occupation had tried without success to stop the yellow fever epidemic that raged in Havana, they at last turned to his theory with the results known to all. A fitting tribute to Dr. Finlay would be an English translation of this volume so that this and future generations could read the pioneer's own accounts of his search for the truth about yellow fever. DUVON C. CORBITT

STUDYING LAW: SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, JOHN MAXCY ZANE, MUNROE SMITH, ROSCOE POUND, ARTHUR L. GOODHART, EUGENE WAMBAUGH, JOHN H. WIGMORE, CHARLES B.

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STEPHENS. Edited by *Arthur T. Vanderbilt.* (New York, Washington Square Publishing Corporation, 1945, pp. viii, 753, $4.75.) This book is as significant because of its author as of its contents. Mr. Vanderbilt has been president of the American Bar Association; he is the dean of a law school, a very successful practitioner, and one of the most public-spirited members of his profession. In his introductory chapter, he explains that the book is intended for the young man, now serving his country, who may be contemplating the study of law. His purpose is to make possible for such prospective students, "a bowing acquaintance" with those judges, barristers, legislators, and authors of legal classics who have been largely responsible for developing our law "out of the life and needs of a free people." Mr. Vanderbilt includes, also, his own carefully prepared article on "Prelegal Education" which appeared, originally, as part of a report presented to the section of legal education of the American Bar Association. From the historian's point of view, Zane's "The Five Ages of the Bench and Bar of England" and Munroe Smith's "Elements of Law" will indicate the character of the editor's selections. The former covers the period from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Victoria. It is of much the same style as Wells's *Outline of History.* Munroe Smith's chapter on jurisprudence, from his *A General View of European Legal History,* is followed by the editor's classroom notes of Professor Smith's lectures. These are succinct and well written. They consist, in 150 pages, of an outline which extends from the ancient law of Babylon to the Constitution, codes, and statutes of the United States. Three articles by Roscoe Pound will open the eyes of the student to that scholar's enlightened approach, which has been called sociological jurisprudence. Equally challenging is the article by Wigmore, speculating on the future of the law of the courtroom. The contributions of Senator Beveridge on "The Young Lawyer and His Beginnings" and of Charles Stephens on "Finding Your Place in the Legal Profession" provide good background material for the man who questions whether he should be a lawyer. The articles by Goodhart and Wambaugh give him examples of the way in which the legal mind is supposed to work. JUSTIN MILLER

FACTS ON FILE YEARBOOK, 1945. Foreword by *Elmer Davis.* Edited by *R. L. Lapica* and *Barbara Brilliant.* [Person's Index of World Events, Volume V.] (New York, Facts on File, 1946, pp. 515, $20.00.)

PROPAGANDA, COMMUNICATION, AND PUBLIC OPINION: A COMPREHENSIVE REFERENCE GUIDE. By *Bruce Lannes Smith, Harold D. Lasswell,* and *Ralph D. Casey.* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1946, pp. vii, 435, $5.00.) In the present volume, the authors have continued at the same high level the compilation they began in *Propaganda and Promotional Activities: An Annotated Bibliography,* published in 1935. Since that date, advances in the science of communication have led them to include one essay on each of the divisions of that field, namely, channels, communicators, contents, and effect. These essays, masterly summations of complex subjects that are not easily comprehended by the great majority of the citizens, are naturally limited by the matter of space. In the study of the political communication specialists, however, except for the sake of history, too much attention seems to have been devoted to "the world's principal propagandists in the period of World War II." It is debatable whether the conjectures and generalizations based upon a study of those men are important or valid in the evaluation of persons holding similar positions in peacetime. Turning to the bibliography itself, the student of the science of communication will discover that it is more than an indispensable starting point for any serious research in that field. Here is not only a comprehensive list of titles but also concise annotations, which accompany the great majority of the entries, and which

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serve to make the book virtually a reference work. In these annotations the reader is given at the same time a succinct summary of the particular book, pamphlet, or article, and in many instances data that show the point of view of the author concerned. This information, in many cases, is misleading with respect to the recent whereabouts of the authors. The impact of World War II upon the employment situation made many of those business addresses outdated long before the publication had gone to press. That is a minor point, however, and does not detract in the least from the value of the book. JAMES R. MOCK

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY WORLD: A READING GUIDE. By *Franklin D. Scott,* Northwestern University. (8th ed., Evanston, Ill., Franklin D. Scott, 1946, pp. 36, 50 cents.)

CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS: COMMENTARY AND DOCUMENTS. By *Leland M. Goodrich,* Director, World Peace Foundation, and *Edvard Hambro,* Director of the Department of International Relations of the Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway. (Boston, World Peace Foundation, 1946, pp. xiii, 400, $2.50.) Up to date this is probably the most complete and useful account, with documents, of the genesis of the United Nations and of its constitution and purposes.

ARTICLES

A. H. JOHNSON. Whitehead's Philosophy of History. *Jour. Hist. Ideas,* Apr.

H. BUTTERFIELD. Tendencies in Historical Study in England. *Irish Hist. Stud.,* Mar., 1945.

French Historical Writings, 1939–1945. *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research,* Nov., 1943.

KENNETH C. SPAULDING. Doubts concerning the "Great Movements" Theory of Historical Interpretation. *Social Stud.,* Apr.

EDWARD HAGEMANN. Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu. *Hist. Bull.,* Mar.

LOUIS KNOTT KOONTZ. The Social Sciences in the National Science Foundation. *Pacific Hist. Rev.,* Mar.

SEWARD W. LIVERMORE. Early Commercial and Consular Relations with the East Indies. *Pacific Hist. Rev.,* Mar.

ALLAN CHRISTELOW. Economic Background of the Anglo-Spanish War of 1762. *Jour. Mod. Hist.,* Mar.

DUANE KOENIG. The Bibliography of the Roman States: 1789–1799. *Ibid.*

EARL J. HAMILTON. The First Twenty Years of the Bank of Spain. *Jour. Pol. Ec.,* Feb.

FRANK TANNENBAUM. The Destiny of the Negro in the Western Hemisphere. *Pol. Sci. Quar.,* Mar.

JANE PERRY CLARK CAREY. Some Aspects of Statelessness since World War I. *Am. Pol. Sci. Rev.,* Feb.

EUGENE O. PORTER. The Evolution of the General Staff. *Historian,* Autumn.

Ancient History[1]

T. R. S. Broughton

THE WHEATS OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY. By *Naum Jasny.* [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXII, No. 3.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1944, pp. 176, xiv, $1.75.) This study is the outgrowth of research begun when the author, an expert on the qualities and processing of modern

[1] Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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wheats who has made other contributions to the wheat problem of ancient times, was attached to the Division of Statistical and Historical Research in the Department of Agriculture. His object is to identify more exactly the types of wheat known to the Greco-Roman world and to arrive at a more accurate interpretation of the ancient nomenclature than is now prevalent. To this end he makes use of the most recent botanical studies on wheats, several of which being in Russian have not been available to Western scholars, and exploits more adequately the material in classical sources dealing with the "adaptability of various wheats for different food preparations" (p. 12). Taking due account of the results of archaeological studies, the factors of soil and climate, and surviving documentary and literary evidence, Dr. Jasny has classified the wheats of Greco-Roman times according to the modern terms "naked" (chiefly durum and Poulard), and "hulled" (predominantly emmer). He is able to show that true spelt was not a crop of the ancient Mediterranean area (*spelta* in Diocletian's *Edict of Prices* refers to emmer), and that by the close of the classical Roman period hulled wheats largely gave place to the more profitable naked varieties. The study should prove very useful to all interested in ancient agriculture and economic life. There are some questionable statements and a few typographical errors. It is hard to see why the wheats of Phocis and Soli are called "low grade" when they produced one and a half times as much wheat as when grown elsewhere (p. 80). On page 102 the reference to *siligo* and *triticum* appears to contradict the quotation from Pliny on page 101. Page 76, note 16, "footnote 25" should be "footnote 26"; page 128, note 16, line 18, "course" should be coarse"; page 58, οιτανίας occurs twice for σιτανίας and in the index πιοτικίου (p. 165) and πιστικίου (p. 176) should both be πιστίκιον.

A. E. R. Boak

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

EXCIDIUM TROIAE. Edited by *E. Bagby Atwood*, University of Texas, and *Virgil K. Whitaker*, Stanford University. [The Mediaeval Academy of America, Publication No. 44.] (Cambridge, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1944, pp. xci, 81, $3.50.) This edition of the anonymous *Excidium Troiae*, now published for the first time in its entirety

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by Professors E. Bagby Atwood and Virgil K. Whitaker, is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the Troy story in medieval literature. The *Excidium Troiae,* the only postclassical account completely independent from those of Dares and Dictys, contains a narrative of the Trojan War from the wedding of Peleus and Thetis to the fall of Troy, the wanderings of Aeneas, and the founding of Rome and Alba Longa. The concluding paragraph carries the story to the period of Augustus and Tiberius and the birth of Christ. The introductory sections will be of great interest to medievalists, particularly the ones dealing with the probable origin and literary relationships of the *Excidium Troiae.* Many vernacular and other Latin versions of the Troy story show very close parallels to it. These, as well as the variety of ancient sources selected to form a continuous narrative, the close agreement with the Greek epic, the use of Greek words and case forms (particularly the name Odisseus not usually found in Latin works), and the classical elements justify the authors in their belief that "*ET*'s Trojan story is a redaction of a considerably older Latin chronicle of the Trojan War which originated in classical times" (p. xiii). The story of Aeneas is also a reworking of an earlier summary of Vergil which contained many additions to the text of the *Aeneid.* As for the Roman material, which is either drawn from a number of sources or goes back to an earlier story no longer extant, the most curious detail is the statement, found in no other version, that Alba Longa was founded by Postumius Silvius, not by Ascanius. The account in its present form is written in simple, colloquial medieval Latin. The device of the question-and-answer, so popular in early medieval textbooks and used frequently in this account, points to its probable use in the schools. The authors are unable to determine the period in which the original version was rewritten. The peculiarities which seemed to Oldfather ("Notes on the *Excidium Troiae," Speculum,* 1936, pp. 272–77) to suggest that the redactor was French, such as the use of the comparative for the superlative and of *in* to mean "in the likeness of," seem to me inconclusive. The text is based on three manuscripts, one preserved in the Bodleian Library and the other two in the Laurentian and Riccardian Libraries of Florence. The first part of the Bodleian manuscript was published in *Speculum* (1934, pp. 379–404) by Mr. Atwood. One wonders why some of the readings printed in the text published in *Speculum* do not appear in the *apparatus* to this edition (4.10 inducere; 4.29 quotiensquisque; 5.23 sicut; 6.26 tunc; 8.8 vellim; 8.10 sicut; 8.21 regis; 9.9 que; quod for quia *passim,* etc.) The apparatus is clear and detailed, the text well constructed. Both the learned introductory studies and the excellent piece of editing maintain the high standard of scholarship set in the preceding publications of the Mediaeval Academy of America. BERTHE M. MARTI

ERASME. By *Marie Delcourt.* [Collections "Le Balancier."] (Brussels, Editions Libris, 1945, pp. 138.) Four of the five chapters were prepared for the quadricentennial of Erasmus in 1936. The biographical resumé does not attempt to present anything new, it merely outlines the life of the man whose career it rightly calls paradoxical. The most unusual section is the last, and shortest, chapter which purports to analyze the character of Erasmus through his handwriting, the writing of an artist, of one eternally young. It is interpretative in the mood of Stephan Zweig, whereas the chapters which examine into the lifelong relationship of Erasmus and More, the political implications of Erasmus' writings, the historical development of the *Colloquies* are in more academic style. In all chapters it is apparent that the author recognizes the many facets of Erasmus' thought, and appreciates his stature as a reformer. The author's thorough familiarity with the life and work of Thomas More (earlier attested to by a biography and an edition of the *Utopia*) make the comparisons with and con-

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trasts to Erasmus and his work very interesting. Significant are the observations that the depth of Erasmian political reform is not apparent on hasty reading, and that it "contains either explicitly or implicitly the elements of a reform more profound and more radical" than the reforms of More which are commonly accepted as the most revolutionary of the day. LESTER K. BORN

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE

Francis H. Herrick

WHITAKER'S FIVE-YEAR CUMULATIVE BOOK LIST, 1939–1943: THE COMPLETE LIST OF ALL BOOKS PUBLISHED IN THE UNITED KINGDOM IN THE YEARS 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, AND 1943. (New York, R. R. Bowker, 1946, pp. 641, $22.50.) "The replacement for the out of print annual volumes of *Whitaker's Cumulative Book List* for the years 1939 to 1943, 'giving in one alphabetical list details as to author, title, sub-title, size, number of pages, price, date, classification and publisher of every book.' "

CATALOGUE OF POLITICAL AND PERSONAL SATIRES PRESERVED IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PRINTS AND DRAWINGS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. Volume VII, 1793–1800. By *Mary Dorothy George.* (London, British Museum, 1942, pp. l, 742, £2. 2*s*.)

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WORK, JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1835. With an Introduction and Notes by *Henry Drummond Dee.* [Archives of British Columbia, Memoir No. X.] (Victoria, King's Printer, 1945, pp. 98, cloth $2.50, paper $1.50.) John Work was in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1814 until his death in 1861;

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thirty-seven of these years were spent in the Pacific Northwest. Of his sixteen journals recounting his experiences as explorer, trader, and administrative officer, thirteen have been published. Ten have been printed, in whole or part, in regional historical quarterlies, and three in book form. All of these are exceedingly valuable to the historian of the fur trade, but the last of these, and the one under review, has a special importance. Here we find more fully stated than usual the details of the maritime fur trade as carried on by the Hudson's Bay Company: the techniques by which an astute company-disciplined trader sought to meet the competition of the more independent and extravagant American trader. The secret of the company's strength in the Indian trade lay in the permanent nature of its relations to the natives. The British necessarily had a long-run view of profits, the Americans that of raiders within the field. Work summarized the problem in this way: "The Americans never calculate on making more than a part of their voyage on the coast. They dispose of part of their cargo at the islands, and make further sales to the Russians, and then come on here with the residue here [*sic*], which is disposed of at almost any price rather than take it home. Their Captains act in the double capacity of Master and supercargo for which they are allowed a very moderate monthly wages [*sic*], and a percentage upon their sales, so that it is their interest (as they express themselves) 'to get rid of it' even should the owners be no gainers by the bargain. From these causes, their mode of dealing with the natives is calculated to be highly detrimental to us who are permanently trading with them, because they estimate the greater part of their commodities by the rate they stand themselves in, and not by the value they are to the Indians. . . . Hence the Natives obtain these things, which should be so essential to them, in such abundance that they lay little or no value upon them" (p. 56). Mr. Dee's editing of the *Journal* of 1835 is scrupulously done, one might say even overscrupulously. This reviewer has no qualifications for evaluating his task in locating the exact places Work mentions along the shores of British Columbia. But the book well illustrates the meticulous scholarship which characterizes the work being done by western Canadian historians.

DOROTHY O. JOHANSEN

OTTAWA OLD AND NEW. By *Lucien Brault,* Honorary Historian of the City of Ottawa. Foreword by the late H. P. Hill. (Ottawa, Ottawa Historical Information Institute, 1946, pp. 349, $3.25.) This is a translation, revision, and enlargement of the author's *Ottawa, Capitale du Canada,* which appeared in 1942 and was noted in this *Review* (XLVIII, 855). Except for a few slips, the translation is good. Some material of special interest to French Canadians has been eliminated, and more of special interest to English-speaking Canadians has been added, which gives a better balance to the book; but in expanding the book Dr. Brault has also expanded in chest, and occasionally lost his own balance. His statement that the Parliamentary Library "stands unrivalled on the continent of America, and is probably one of the finest public libraries in the world" is ridiculous. To most Canadian scholars who are familiar with it, that library is a disgrace to Canada. More attention might have been given to Ottawa as the city where the population is divided between French and English in the same proportion as that of the whole country, and where the problem of the relations between them is ever present. Dr. Brault rightly regrets that few French Canadians have ever been elected mayor, though they form over thirty per cent of the population; but he refrains from remarking that every Roman Catholic bishop and archbishop has been French, though almost forty per cent of the Roman Catholic population of Ottawa is English-speaking.

A. L. BURT

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STE. CROIX (DOCHET) ISLAND: A MONOGRAPH. By *William Francis Ganong.* Revised and enlarged from the author's manuscript notes and edited by *Susan Brittain Ganong.* [New Brunswick Museum, Monograph Series, No. 3.] (Saint John, N.B., New Brunswick Museum, 1945, pp. xix, 125.)

THE DISCOVERY OF CANADA. By *Lawrence J. Burpee.* (New York, Macmillan, 1944, pp. x, 280, $3.00.) Mr. Burpee has spent so many of his student years in perusing the accounts of Canadian explorers, and has traveled over so much of the northern portions of this continent in his capacity as a member of the International Joint Commission, that he can well afford now to write a distinctly popular account of the age of exploration in Canadian and northern United States history. No scholar will offer the obvious objection to books of this nature—that they do not tell the full story, that they omit pertinent facts and conditions, that their generalizations are too broad—for the equally obvious reason that the purpose of the book is so patent. It is not to enlighten the scholar but to attract and inform the very young student and the layman who wants only basic facts and much human interest. Mr. Burpee has achieved this end and is to be congratulated. There is a very useful bibliography of twelve pages at the end. GRACE LEE NUTE

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FRANCE AND BELGIUM

THE FRENCH RAILROADS AND THE STATE. By *Kimon A. Doukas.* [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, Number 517.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 287, $3.50.) This is a book of real interest in several of its parts, such as the introduction, the last two chapters on the period between 1921 and 1937, and the conclusion. With these notable exceptions it seems to the reviewer largely a summary in English of French governmental policies, decrees, and regulations, and of railroad accounting. All this is of interest to legal historians and, possibly, to economists and political scientists, but hardly to economic historians. So many details, mostly legal and financial, are given that the reader cannot find the synthesis announced in the introduction. On the other hand Mr. Doukas makes some very significant statements. He says that France has suffered numerous economic and financial crises and that these have affected her railroads more than revolutions or the perennial game of politics. With this conclusion the reviewer agrees heartily, but he notes that the author produces little or no evidence in support of this very important statement. The author shows clearly in his introduction that the sound development of the railroad industry in France was hampered throughout the century 1837–1937 by "the shifting expression of the legislative will and the uncompromising attitude of the vested interests." Both were cleverly camouflaged, but remained clearly harmful. The railroads, in short, were

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the victims of both the French love of playing politics and of the financiers who saw that whatever happened they and their clients received a steady and satisfactory income. These two important points are thoroughly supported by evidence throughout the book. ARTHUR L. DUNHAM

SECURITE DE L'OCCIDENT, RUHR, RHIN. By *Louis F. Aubert.* (Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1946, pp. 140, fr. 80.)

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

HISTORIENS STUDIUM I DANMARK I DET 19. AARHUNDREDE. By *Ellen Jørgensen.* Udgivet af den Danske Historiske Forening paa Carlsbergfondets Bekostning. (Copenhagen, Bianco Lunos Boktrykkeri, 1943, pp. 252.) It was logical that Ellen Jørgensen, after doing (1931) a study of Danish historiography in the eighteenth century, should prepare another volume on Danish historiography in the nineteenth century. The author's qualifications for these studies is beyond challenge—for a generation she specialized in Danish medieval history and for a number of years she served as the editor in charge of the leading Danish historical journal. Her discourse in the current volume is grouped around three generations of historians, using the terminal dates 1800–1840, 1840–1870, and 1870–1900. Following these three sections there are separate essays on six of the eminent Danish historians of the century. The work is worthy of the sturdy discipline and craftsmanship which characterized nineteenth century historiography and of which the author is a disciple and an eager exponent. A long succession of Danish scholars and writers pass before us. The ground chosen is carefully covered and a good share of bibliographical detail is included. The usefulness of the volume is much enhanced by a fairly comprehensive biographical index. The work is strong on the bibliographical side but weaker than one would wish on interpretation. In a work appearing under the distinguished auspices which sustain this volume we are entitled to look for more than is offered about the main intellectual currents of the century and about their influences upon the historians concerned. The reason for this lack of emphasis, at least in part, is the author's rigid concern with the thesis that the successive generations of Danish historians in the nineteenth century passed on their principles and standards from age to age and held their discipline to a steady course whenever foreign currents broke across the land. The author seems critical of what precedes as well as what follows the nineteenth century. She is not very sympathetic with the rationalist, pragmatist, philosophical history of

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the Enlightenment, and she is concerned over the doubt and discouragement which characterize some historians of the twentieth century (Erslev's essay in 1911 on history writing is cited as an example). In a postscript dated 1943 the writer hopes that Danish historians of our century will maintain the same high standards of strong independent research which the three generations of the previous century held aloft with firm sense of continuity. This is a laudable attitude but one which should not exclude wider interests. When the definitive work on nineteenth century Danish historiography comes to be written it will be based on the principles so consistently extolled by the author; moreover, it will draw heavily on the extensive store of information she painstakingly has assembled for this volume.

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

KRYMSKAYA VOINA [The Crimean War]. By *E. V. Tarle.* Volume II. (Moscow, Izdat. Akademii nauk SSSR, 1945, pp. 506, r. 28.) This last volume of Professor Tarle's monograph is provided with an extensive bibliography and an index of names.

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

INDIE IN DE BRANDING: DE GEALLIEERDE WERELD OVER DE TOEKOMST VAN NEDERLANDSCH INDIE VAN PEARL HARBOR TOT HOLLANDIA. By *J. F. Engers.* With a Foreword by Dr. F. H. Visman, Oud-lid van den Raad van Nederlandsch Indië. [Uitgegeven in samenwerking met den Nederlandsch-Nederlandsch Indischen Raad van het Institute of Pacific Relations.] (New York, Querido, 1945, pp. 136, $1.75.) The purpose of this volume is to inform the Dutch people about the opinions entertained concerning the East Indies by leading statesmen and educators in the Allied countries. Incidentally it also provides American citizens with useful data about the subject. First of all Dr. Visman points out that in 1922 Indonesia ceased to be a colony, and that in 1925 the *Volksraad* (People's Council) received increased powers at the expense of the kingdom in Europe. Furthermore, two years later it was

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stipulated that the majority of the members in the *Volksraad* be Indonesians. During the German invasion of Holland in May, 1940, numerous Indonesian leaders expressed friendship for the Dutch people. Mr. Engers presents pertinent pronouncements issued by the following writers and speakers of note: Winston Churchill, Hubertus J. van Mook, Cecil Brown, Virginia Thompson, Sumner Welles, Henry A. Wallace, Nicholas M. Butler, Owen Lattimore, George E. Taylor, Carlos Romulo, Tyler Dennett, Rupert Emerson, William L. Holland, the editors of *Time, Life,* and *Fortune* (published in *Fortune* for August, 1942), Raymond Kennedy, Percy E. Corbett, Nathaniel Peffer, and K. M. Panikkar. These are followed by opinions expressed in 1943 and 1944, indicating that after the first shock of defeat various Allied leaders were becoming hopeful of a solution closely resembling that which Queen Wilhelmina proposed on December 7, 1942. ALBERT HYMA

POPULATION AND PEACE IN THE PACIFIC. By *Warren Simpson Thompson.* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. 419, $3.75.) "Changing economic and sociological conditions in the Far East, population pressures, the awakening of backward peoples to modern industrial development, and unequal natural resources; a survey by the director of the Scripps Foundation for Research on Population Problems."

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United States History

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

AMERICAN SAYINGS: FAMOUS PHRASES, SLOGANS, AND APHORISMS. By *Henry F. Woods.* (New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1945, pp. ix, 310, $2.50.) Mr. Woods has collected nearly three hundred sayings or phrases which played a part at some time in American political or social history. This ought to have useful possibilities for history teachers, newspaper writers, and librarians, but the book suffers from one serious limitation. Mr. Woods gives no exact references to his sources of information, such as a teacher, a writer, or a librarian naturally desires. In cases where the saying is taken from a speech on a given date, he gives the citation but does not say where the speech may be found. It is not pedantry to employ precise references in a book designed for reference purposes. It is simply common sense. Further, when the saying is not quoted but is merely said to have been current, Mr. Woods makes no attempt to identify the circumstances or illustrate its use. A single example, for instance, of the phrase "Dollar Diplomacy" in a dated newspaper would give the reference genuine usefulness. In some cases the absence of any such reference raises serious doubts. The ascription of the words "Bloody Shirt" to O. P. Morton during the Civil War calls for support, since every student of American history knows that they were hurled by Democrats in Reconstruction days at Republicans who declaimed about "Southern outrages." There are a few odd omissions. Hamilton's "Your people, sir, is a great beast" is lacking and there is nothing from the "Farewell Address." Even Lincoln's dictum about "fooling all the people part of the time," etc., fails to appear. Space might have been found for these and others from pre-Civil War days by omitting trivial recent sayings such as "Milk for Hottentots" and "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition," both repudiated by their alleged authors. T. C. SMITH

A BENJAMIN FRANKLIN READER. Edited by *Nathan G. Goodman.* (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1945, pp. xxi, 818, $3.50.) Although Benjamin Franklin was a prolific writer, few except scholars have had occasion to read his writings other than

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his autobiography and ubiquitous proverbs. This volume aims to meet this need by presenting selected essays, correspondence, and notations revealing Franklin's life in all its ramifications. Franklin, above all, was a moral philosopher. Men who practiced thrift, sobriety, industry, and honesty would be rewarded with success. The latter could be measured in wealth, high esteem, prosperity, and peace of mind. He was much more concerned with earthly rewards than heavenly although these would follow he assured his readers. Franklin's thinking carried him a long way from the quasi-medieval pattern of Cotton Mather and seventeenth century America. It was likewise in striking contrast to his contemporary, Jonathan Edwards, who tenaciously clung to a rigid Calvinistic interpretation of life. Franklin's approach was a pragmatic one and his deductions combined the essence of utility. Orthodoxy in society had no attractions for him unless the doctrine fulfilled a useful function in the lives of men. Franklin was early converted to the rationalistic principles of Deism. His thoughts about the Deity had a tendency toward pantheism and he had doubts as to the divinity of Christ. He favored a religion of good works and admired George Whitefield who he thought stressed the rendering of services to one's fellow man. There was no trace of intolerance in his religion, but he was not without prejudices. He thought Anglo-Saxons the finest creation of God and deprecated the influx of persons of darker skins into the colonies. Franklin's advocacy of a utilitarian course of studies instead of the traditional classics reflected the trend in education in Europe and America. William Penn had previously advocated it and Quakers had adopted it for their academies. Commercially minded Philadelphia wanted it. In Franklin's scientific writings the reader is struck by the objectivity of methods in the eighteenth century. Franklin warned against attaching explanations of phenomena until the facts were complete and incontestable. One of his useful inventions was an improved fireplace which saved wood, lessened smoke, and radiated more heat. Such was greatly needed in America and England where fireplaces in contrast to Swedish, German, and Russian stoves were very inadequate. For those who desire recourse to a sketch of Franklin's life the editor has included a satisfactory digest. THEODORE THAYER

QUEBEC ET L'EGLISE AUX ETATS-UNIS SOUS MGR BRIAND ET MGR PLESSIS. By *Laval Laurent.* [The Catholic University of America Studies in Sacred Theology, No. 88.] (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1945, pp. xxviii, 258.) Under the above title, which exceeds its contents, this book deals not, as the reader might think, with the situation of the church in Canada or in the United States but simply with the relations between the American clergy and Bishops Briand and Plessis. Under the former, the relations with the Catholics of the east (New Jersey, Maryland, and Pennsylvania) are confined to the suggestion of the apostolical vicar of London of bringing them under the episcopal jurisdiction of Quebec. This was opposed by the Jesuits, in charge of the churches. As to the west, Bishop Briand limited himself to providing missionaries for Illinois, Detroit, and Michillimakinac. Between these two chapters, the author has introduced forty pages on Bishop Briand and the American Revolution. This is certainly a digression, which contains some excellent pages, although the writer either forgets or is ignorant of the important contribution of the pro-British Canadians and the services they rendered. Besides, he did not even suspect the existence of the real factors—economical and psychological—which determined the attitude of the French population during that crisis. In the second part, after another superfluous chapter on the War of 1812, the author examines the relations between Mgr. Plessis and the American clergy. He describes the journeys of the Quebec bishop to Boston and New York in 1815 and to Detroit in 1816. He

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next analyzes the correspondence of Plessis with the bishops of Baltimore, Boston, New York, Bardstown (Louisville), Philadelphia, Louisiana, Charleston, and Cincinnati. This study reveals the important role played by the bishop of Quebec as theological and moral counsellor to the Vatican and to the American church. On the whole, thanks to its constant references and its index, this book by Father Laurent (unfortunately now deceased), although not without a few weaknesses in structure and documentation, constitutes nevertheless a useful contribution to the history of religious relations between Canada and the United States during the period 1766–1825.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

MY HEAD AND MY HEART: A LITTLE HISTORY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON AND MARIA COSWAY. By *Helen Duprey Bullock*. With Preface by Carleton Sprague Smith. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1945, pp. xvii, 235, $3.00.) One of the puzzles that has long confronted the student of Jefferson is his relationship to Maria Cosway, the young and beautiful wife of the well-known British miniature painter, Richard Cosway, whom he first met in Paris in 1786. Did he, or didn't he? The question was tacitly raised in 1829 with the publication of the celebrated *Dialogue of the Head and Heart* by Thomas Jefferson Randolph in his edition of Jefferson's writings. Except for a discreet reference to Jefferson as a "congenial friend" to Mrs. Cosway, in Sarah Nicholas Randolph's *Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson,* published in 1871, there was no further discussion for over half a century. In 1928 the writer of this review came upon a series of impassioned letters from Mrs. Cosway among Jefferson's personal papers in the Coolidge Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as yet unexploited by photostat or microfilm. These were brought into relation with the *Dialogue* and other material and published in the *Virginia Quarterly Review* for July, 1928, under the title "Jefferson's Farewell to Romance." In 1924 the Tracy W. McGregor Library of the University of Virginia acquired twenty-five additional letters from Jefferson and from Mrs. Cosway, hitherto unpublished and unknown. With these as a starting point, Mrs. Bullock has constructed a most extraordinary book. Although of great importance, the quantity of the new material is so slight as to be suitable only for magazine or brochure publication, scarcely for a full-length book. To achieve this latter end, Mrs. Bullock has, in 197 brief pages, passed in review the whole eighty-three years of Jefferson's life—most of which, of course, had nothing to do with Mrs. Cosway. The book is further spiced with thumbnail sketches of almost anyone concerned or not concerned, from "chubby, excited little Mrs. Knox" at the first ball given by General and Mrs. Washington, to the American minister himself, dubiously described as "no stranger to these aristocratic boudoirs" of Paris. The author has spun a cocoon of cloying femininity about the noble figure of Jefferson and his frank and straightforward admiration of a bewitching young woman. That he was bewitched, there is no doubt. But as the Head triumphed in the famous *Dialogue,* so there is no indication in these new letters that it bowed before the Heart. Infatuation was gradually superseded by gentler sentiments. Mrs. Bullock chooses to ignore the decrescendo of the affair, preferring to regard it as continuing on the sustained level of a deep and lasting affection—which was not the case. She fails to bring out that once the immediacy of his emotion had subsided, Jefferson recognized Maria Cosway for what she was, an unstable woman, and, to use harsh words, a frivolous little flirt. The author has seen fit to take certain liberties with her material, such as supplying or revising dates, omitting parts of important letters and not always being accurate in her references. When she branches out into the contemporary French scene, she steps into deep water, making errors that are evident to

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anyone familiar with eighteenth century France. Mrs. Bullock is no stranger to the ideals of scholarship. That she should so successfully have evaded them, comes as a surprise.

MARIE KIMBALL

CORRESPONDENCE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON AND FRANCIS WALKER GILMER, 1814–1826. Edited with an Introduction by *Richard Beale Davis,* Associate Professor of English, University of South Carolina. (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1946, pp. 163, $2.50.) In editing the correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Francis Walker Gilmer, Dr. Richard Beale Davis has done a service to the student and the historian. Too little is known of Gilmer, his friendship with Jefferson, and the important part he played in the founding of the University of Virginia and the selection of its faculty, of which he, had he lived, would have been a member. It is the more to be regretted therefore that Dr. Davis has failed to make use of all the available material and has completely neglected the Jefferson Papers in the Library of Congress. In printing the letters Dr. Davis has properly retained the spelling and punctuation of the originals, with one exception (p. 40), which he unnecessarily reprints from the modernized version in the memorial edition of the works of Thomas Jefferson although a polygraph copy by Jefferson is available in the Library of Congress. Again, an important letter is omitted entirely because, as explained by Dr. Davis in his preface (p. 18), "unfortunately this letter has not been preserved." Nevertheless a complete draft of it in Jefferson's hand has been preserved and could well have been printed. Drafts of three other interesting letters from Jefferson to Gilmer would have helped the story, as well as an enlightening list of subjects for discussion with Gilmer on university matters. In all other respects, Dr. Davis' book is an excellent one. A well-written introduction gives the necessary background, assisted by portraits of the two subjects; the material is well arranged, each letter beginning a new page, with the source printed clearly at the top, and the unobtrusive, yet extremely accurate and helpful notes at the foot. Dr. Davis is so much to be congratulated on what he has done that the omissions seem a greater pity.

E. M. SOWERBY

SAMUEL ADAMS: SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS. Edited by *Elizabeth Lawson.* [Builders of the American Nation.] (New York, International Publishers, 1946, pp. 99, $1.00.)

AMERICAN DIARIES: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN DIARIES WRITTEN PRIOR TO THE YEAR 1861. Compiled by *William Matthews,* with the assistance of Roy Harvey Pearce. [University of California Publications in English, Volume XVI.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1945, pp. xiv, 383.) The lowly bibliography is surely one of the most useful tools of the historian, but how few have been published or even prepared! A vast amount of research goes into the making of one, and, usually, considerable travel. For it is only the largest libraries of the world that ordinarily can boast of anything like complete or nearly complete holdings in any field of research. Mr. Matthews' bibliography has grown out of a study of speech of New England colonists. He limits it, not only as to years but also as to printed data. Probably there are a hundred unpublished diaries in the United States for every one in print. But even to locate and list all the manuscript diaries in public depositories would be a life's task, not to mention all those that are in private hands. Moreover, it would be an unprofitable job, for diaries are not *per se* valuable or

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even worth while. What he has accomplished merely whets the appetite for more. It is so very handy to turn to the year of one's interest and find listed in considerable detail some diary not even suspected before. There is a drawback, however, in the chronological arrangement of the book. A man's diary may include the year of one's interest—say 1841 in Minnesota history—but since Martin McLeod began his entries in 1836, his diary for 1841 is missed, because entered only in 1836. Would it be impossible to use a *see 1836* reference in the years from 1837 to 1841? Such entries would not be long and would save the reader all the uncertainty that must come from the present arrangement. Now he can be sure of catching all pertinent diaries only by going through practically the entire book! Since mention has been made of Martin McLeod's diary, which I had the pleasure of editing, I may add that it was like meeting an old friend to open the book to its first page and read there, as a sort of keynote, McLeod's very apt entry, "A thought has struck me:—As I am about to enter on an 'adventurous career' *I will keep a journal.*" That diary had not been missed—nor had any of the others with which I tested the book for my own interests in English, Canadian, and American history of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, in my own special fields of exploration, the fur trade, Indian and home missions, and Minnesota history. Probably there *are* omissions, but thus far I have been unable to determine where. I am sorry foreign-language diaries of North American interest have been omitted.

GRACE LEE NUTE

LINCOLN AND THE LAND OF THE SANGAMON. By *Louis Obed Renne.* (Boston, Chapman and Grimes, 1945, pp. 140, $2.50.) "Perhaps we all tend to deify some favorite among the sons of men; we may be carried to the realm of veneration in contemplating the life and deeds of mortals who stood in the vanguard of their time. In our fancy we create a sanctuary, and pay homage to our ideal." In this spirit Mr. Renne burns incense before his sanctuary in a brief, rambling, impressionistic sketch of Abraham Lincoln. Having grown up in the Sangamon Valley, with William H. Herndon for a neighbor and with forebears who frequently saw Lincoln on the streets of Springfield, the author came by his hobby naturally enough. Lincoln once laid a hand on the head of one of his aunts (when she was a child); Uncle Thomas Peter Renne was once directed to an address in Springfield by the Great Man; an aunt remembered how Lincoln loved children. Since none of these ancestors knew Lincoln except in these casual ways, they had little to offer save these trivial memories. For his part Mr. Renne contributes no more than an orthodox version of the gentle Lincoln who has endeared himself to the good people who find inspiration in the life of the martyred President. Doubtless the author would be the first to admit that his little volume was designed to accomplish nothing more ambitious than that.

KENNETH M. STAMPP

WALT WHITMAN HANDBOOK. By *Gay Wilson Allen.* (Chicago, Packard, 1946, pp. xviii, 560, $3.00.) This volume by Gay Allen does not possess the weakness which is often found in handbooks; it is not a miscellany but a well-integrated review of everything significant that has been written about Whitman, set in logical order and supplemented by the results of the author's own investigation. Only tremendous industry could have collected this rich mass of material, and only a well-disciplined mind could have organized it into an intelligible whole. Neither is it a volume marred by the prejudice, pro and con, which is the weakness of many treatises on Whitman. Mr. Allen inclines, in general, to be sympathetic with his subject but he is in no sense

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uncritical. In chapter 1 ("The Growth of Walt Whitman Biography"), for example, he picks his way discreetly through the conflicting testimony and opinions of Whitman's personal friends, his early British interpreters, his American worshippers, his more recent critical, scholarly, impressionistic, and psychoanalytical biographers, and on to his last interpreter, Henry Seidel Canby. His book, Mr. Allen concludes, "epitomizes the best of recent Whitman scholarship, resolves many of the biographical cruxes with plausible and sensible conclusions, and leaves the reader with the conviction that Walt Whitman, both as man and poet, deserves the influence and reputation which he has attained throughout the modern world." Sharply unfavorable comment on the *Handbook* may be anticipated from critics who are committed to extravagant interpretations of Whitman. High praise, privately qualified by a touch of regret, may be expected from teachers of American literature who, for long years, have been assembling their own data on Whitman for their own classes, only to have this *Handbook* render their patient compilations inadequate. For Mr. Allen has summarized between two covers the high points of all that any student needs to know not only about Whitman's biography but the writing of *Leaves of Grass,* Whitman's literary technique, his fundamental ideas in general and their application to American life in particular, and his debt to and influence on world literature. In the future, the *Handbook* will relieve students of much spadework on secondary sources and will release them for a firsthand consideration of Whitman and his work. *Leaves of Grass* is not an exact transcript of life in the United States during Whitman's day and probably not of the America of any future day. But, as Mr. Allen points out, Whitman "has become a legend, a national symbol, even a pivotal figure in an international literary movement." As such he is of first-rate importance to the historian of American culture; and to every such historian, this encyclopedic *Handbook* is a most useful tool.

TREMAINE MCDOWELL

THE UNITED STATES, 1865–1900: A SURVEY OF CURRENT LITERATURE WITH ABSTRACTS OF UNPUBLISHED DISSERTATIONS. Edited by *Curtis Wiswell Garrison.* Volume III, JANUARY 1, 1944–DECEMBER 31, 1944. (Fremont, Ohio, Rutherford B. Hayes-Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation, 1945, pp. vii, 304.) The trustees of the Hayes Foundation have "proposed" (preface; minute not quoted) to encourage research in the period 1865–1900, particularly "along the ideas and principles" of R. B. Hayes. The plan of the survey (p. 3) was "to assess" as contributions to knowledge the year's output of books and articles on history. Among participants, however, are people who are not historians, and included are appraisals of fiction, social studies, and current propaganda more or less related to history. The outline seems to be patterned after that of Griffin's *Writings on American History,* a different kind of project. The labors of the contributors were not co-ordinated. Much of the material remains unedited. Repetition and waste of space abound. The index of contributors is a superfluous abstract from the short general index (which might well have contained the separate entries of dissertations). Each "headline" work listed on page 5 is mentioned several times and some are really appraised twice. But such faults and shortcomings scarcely mar the main body of contributions by historians, some of whom have set classic examples for the pioneer work which Dr. Garrison has well begun.

T. P. MARTIN

THE TRUE WOODROW WILSON, CRUSADER FOR DEMOCRACY. By *Harold Garnet Black.* Introduction by Franklin D. Roosevelt. (New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1946, pp. 270, $3.00.)

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FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT: THE TRIBUTE OF THE SYNAGOGUE. Compiled by *Rabbi Max Kleiman*. Foreword by Rev. Stephen S. Wise (New York, Bloch, 1946, pp. 272, $3.00.)

CHIEF JUSTICE STONE AND THE SUPREME COURT. By *Samuel J. Konefsky*. With a Prefatory Note by Charles A. Beard. (New York, Macmillan, 1945, pp. xxvi, 290, $3.00.) Mr. Konefsky's thoughtful and penetrating study of the work of Mr. Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone as a member of the Supreme Court of the United States is more a study of constitutional doctrine than it is a biography. By limiting himself to this phase of his subject the author is able to deal with it more thoroughly than would be possible if he had chosen to write the usual biography, unless the biography were to be very long. Mr. Konefsky has divided his discussions of Chief Justice Stone's concept of the judicial office and his constitutional views into seven chapters: "The Taxing Power in Intergovernmental Relations," "The Commerce Clause and State Power," "Scope of Federal Power," "Restraining the Administrative Process," " 'Censoring' State Regulation of Economic Activities," "Safeguarding Civil Liberties," and the concluding chapter, "An Enlightened View of the Judicial Function." Under each of these headings the author examines the views of the Chief Justice as they are expressed both in majority opinions of the court and in dissenting opinions by himself. Mr. Konefsky is certainly on sound ground when he assumes that dissenting opinions are probably better sources of information concerning the views of individual members of the court than are majority opinions. Dissenting opinions are often written under conditions which tend to provoke clear-cut expressions of view. Majority opinions often reflect compromises and harmonizations of many views. Mr. Konefsky is properly partial to the Chief Justice and is apparently willing to go a long way in his defense. His treatment of the Buckner Case on the AAA indicates this. In this work the author has examined the great constitutional decisions of the last twenty years, and the book really contains an analysis of the work of the Supreme Court during this period. It is of value to students of the court and of constitutional law as well as to admirers of the Chief Justice. Mr. Konefsky concludes that Chief Justice Stone has risen above his background of the market place to a position of judicial statesmanship. He seems to feel that personalities like those of Brandeis and Holmes influenced Associate Justice Stone and it may be that they did. Events may have played an even more important role in shaping his constitutional views. The impact of prosperity, depression, and war may have been as great upon the mind of Chief Justice Stone as upon the minds of many other Americans. This reviewer feels well rewarded for the time spent with the author in reading this book and it is hoped that Mr. Konefsky, who apparently labors under the handicap of sightlessness, will continue to develop his constitutional studies.

OLIVER P. FIELD

SELECTED SPEECHES AND STATEMENTS OF GENERAL OF THE ARMY GEORGE C. MARSHALL, CHIEF OF STAFF, UNITED STATES ARMY. Edited by Major *H. A. DeWeerd*. (Washington, Infantry Journal, 1945, pp. xiii, 263, $2.75.) As Douglas Freeman has said, this volume is a major source book of military history. But it is much more. It is an important contribution to the history of the tragic years 1939–1941, when the American people seemed unable or unwilling to face with courage and resolution the greatest of threats to national survival. Nowhere is there more damning evidence of the evasion, self-deception, and demagoguery of some of our legislators than is revealed in some of the colloquy between General Marshall and

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members of Congressional committees. Major DeWeerd has wisely included these reports of General Marshall's testimony (some of which was in executive session and hence is not readily available elsewhere). General Marshall emerges from these pages as more than the distinguished soldier which he is. He is revealed as a national leader and statesman not far removed, if at all, from greatness. These papers and speeches—including an address to the American Historical Association in December, 1939—cover the years 1938 to 1945. But the most important are those dated between the fall of France and the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor. Most of what General Marshall had to say before the spring of 1940 is solid but undistinguished. Confronted with German domination of western Europe, however, the chief of staff revealed the stuff of which he was made. This book shows how he directed the creation and training of the most powerful army and air force which the United States, or perhaps any nation, has ever had. And these pages demonstrate that—as General Marshall once said, smarting under unjust and uninformed criticism—the General Staff had a coherent strategy for the prosecution of the war and "knew what it was doing." If one takes this volume along with General Marshall's three biennial reports, he will find as good a statement as he is likely to find anywhere of the fundamental assumptions upon which a security policy for the United States must be based. General Marshall was not only a soldier of democracy; he was also a democratic soldier. Possessed of greater power than any military man in American history, he used it with restraint. The evidence is clear in these pages that he wished to work entirely within the framework of democratic institutions and that he had no desire to aggrandize the Army or exalt himself. He was able, principally by force of character and by a real gift of persuasion, to win legislative support. This was usually done by patient persistence. But when plain speaking was required, the chief of staff could speak bluntly and imperatively. For example, when in the summer of 1941 certain legislators expressed the fear that extending the Selective Service Act (by proclaiming a national emergency) would jeopardize the peace, General Marshall said: "The declaration of an emergency does not create it. An emergency exists whether or not Congress declares it. I am asking you to recognize the fact—the fact that the national interest is imperiled and that an emergency exists. I am not asking you to manufacture a fact." Major DeWeerd has done a near-perfect piece of editing. His introduction is informative and restrained. His footnotes provide the necessary explanations and setting for portions of the text. This is part of the record of our times which political scientists and historians cannot afford to overlook. EDWARD MEAD EARLE

THE UNITED STATES MOVES ACROSS THE PACIFIC: THE A.B.C.'S OF THE AMERICAN PROBLEM IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC AND THE FAR EAST. By *Kenneth Scott Latourette,* D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History and Fellow of Berkeley College in Yale University. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1946, pp. ix, 174, $2.00.)

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By *Edwin Borchard,* Justus S. Hotchkiss Professor of Law, Yale University. (Indianapolis, National Foundation Press, 1946, pp. viii, 69, $1.00.)

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

THE FIRST HALF-CENTURY OF WADSWORTH TENANCY. By *Neil Adams McNall.* [Cornell Studies in American History, Literature, and Folklore, Volume II.] (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1945, pp. 31, 50 cents.)

THE GERMAN AND SWISS SETTLEMENTS OF COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA: A STUDY OF THE SO-CALLED PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH. By *Levi Oscar Kuhns.* (3d ed., Harrisburg, Aurand Press, 1945, pp. 291, $3.00.) For review of first edition see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, VI (July, 1901), 813.

CONRAD WEISER, PENNSYLVANIA PEACEMAKER. By *Arthur D. Graeff.* [The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, Volume VIII, 1943.] (Fogelsville, Pa., Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1945, pp. xiii, 406, $3.50.) It is strange that such an important and colorful figure as Conrad Weiser has never before been made the subject of a scholarly monograph. It is almost stranger that, after such a long neglect by American historians, now within one year two large biographies on Weiser have been published, a heavy 650-page volume by Paul A. W. Wallace and this likewise very minute and detailed study by Arthur D. Graeff. Conrad Weiser (1696–1760) belongs to the colonial period of the Middle Atlantic states, one of those German immigrants who adapted themselves admirably to the needs and necessities of the new country. In the decades before the French and Indian War he was the most skillful negotiator in Indian affairs. The fact that he knew one of the most important Indian dialects, unusual as it was, was not the only explanation for his success. Diplomatic ability, plain common sense, and Christian humility account as much for the amazing results of his work among the Indians as his singular linguistic talents. To be sure, he never moved on the upper level of politics, he never formulated, he only carried out; but his advice was always considered by those who promulgated the lines of action. The "good neighbor policy" which determined the relationship between Pennsylvania and the Six Nations was more or less Conrad Weiser's work.

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Arthur D. Graeff very carefully combed through the available sources, among them the most personal—Weiser's autobiography in the Rupp Collection of the Library of Congress. The author takes time to give a broad description of the social and political background of the period, he includes extensive contemporary newspaper reports, integrates folk tales, legends, and anecdotes in order to enliven the narrative. Since he addresses himself not only to historians but also to the layman, a more concise drawing of the great lines of national history might occasionally have been desirable. The professional historian will regret the absence of a systematic bibliography. As a whole, the book reproduces perfectly the homespun atmosphere of the solid, sturdy, substantial Pennsylvania Dutch pioneer, "a people who," as Donald R. Shenton in his introduction puts it, "farmed their way to peace." DIETER CUNZ

THE HORN PAPERS: EARLY WESTWARD MOVEMENT ON THE MONONGAHELA AND UPPER OHIO, 1765–1795. By *W. F. Horn*. In three volumes. (Waynesburg, Pa., Greene County Historical Society, 1945, pp. xiv, 412, 413–885, maps, $30.00.) This publication is an extraordinary concoction, a brew of many ingredients varying widely in kind and in quality. It definitely requires, not a short review, but an extended critique involving hundreds of hours of research, many dollars of expense, and thousands of words of print. However, in a brief review, it may be said that it is a most remarkable compound of good and bad perspective, of relevancy and irrelevancy, of authenticity and inauthenticity, and of accuracy and inaccuracy. Its sponsors, editors, and authors are lawyers, genealogists, and local antiquarians, greatly serious but inadequately founded in the niceties of historical criticism and historiography, a shortcoming for which no blame attaches to them. The title of the volumes is in great degree a misnomer. Volume III, an afterthought, is an atlas of township land plats secured from state and local sources. Covering not only Greene County but also Washington County and Fayette County, Pennsylvania, this volume is of value to local historians, lawyers, and genealogists, though certainly an adjunct and not a component part of any Horn papers. Pages 143 to 492 of the first two volumes (continuous pagination) consist of a series of essays lately written, largely by W. F. Horn. Based upon possession of rare data and not badly written, they are without sequential organization, not always highly relevant, and without satisfactory documentation in footnotes or otherwise. Pages 492 to 780 contain hundreds of biographical sketches "compiled from information gathered from many sources." Unfortunately the sources are nowhere indicated. Mr. W. F. Horn says privately that his data (amazingly large) come partly from international and American genealogical societies and partly from local records. Pages 731 to 825 are a miscellany of essays by W. F. Horn, Frank B. Jones (chapter on archaeology), and D. H. Moredock (chapter on Christopher Gist) and a list of the names of heads of families in Washington County, Pennsylvania, from the federal census of 1790, the last most certainly not a Horn paper and not indexed in the general index of the first two volumes. In the first 142 pages of this work are reproduced sundry papers, maps, and artifacts which are said to have come down in the possession of Jacob Horn and his descendants. The publication of these was the initial inspiration of this voluminous publication. The authenticity and accuracy of these first pages is the crux of the real value of the *Horn Papers*. Certainly they are merely printed and not annotated as was necessary with materials of the provenance admitted in the introduction. Work by experts in ethnology, anthropology, paleography, cartography, and various other auxiliary sciences is needed for a definitive critique of these pages. Space forbids more than the mere mention of questionable items, such as some in regard to Thomas Cresap, Christopher Gist, Richard Lewis, Coulon de Jumon-

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ville, Indian population, etc. Until a full critique has appeared the general reader should be wary of these volumes. They are worth thirty dollars only to local antiquarians and those interested in playing with literary and historical curiosities.

ALFRED P. JAMES

[Editor's note: At the request of Professor James the following letter is published as a supplement to his review. G.S.F.]

MY DEAR DR. FORD: Have you examined or assigned for review *The Horn Papers*, edited by W. F. Horn and "published for a committee of the Greene County Historical Society" of Waynesburg, Pennsylvania? I have just examined these three volumes and I think the conclusion is inescapable that large parts of the documentary materials in the first two volumes, including diaries, maps, court records, memorandums, and even lead plates and hieroglyphs, are sheer fabrications. I do not know of any similar publication of fabricated documents among all of the thousands of documentary publications issued by American historical societies. It seems to me, therefore, that something more than an ordinary review of *The Horn Papers* is indicated. I believe a committee of investigation was appointed by the American Historical Association some forty years ago when a forgery of *The Cape Fear Mercury* was accepted by the credulous editor of a magazine of national circulation as being genuine. The committee made such an exhaustive analysis of the forgery as to set all doubts permanently at rest. I venture to suggest the desirability of a similar procedure in the present instance. I suggest this not so much to determine the spurious character of much of the documentation as to assay the genuine. No careful scholar will be deceived by the meretricious parts of the first two volumes, but as the volumes now stand it is almost impossible for anyone to say where authenticity ends and fabrication begins. It may be that none of the documents is genuine, but I suspect that the editor must have had a certain amount of authentic materials to begin with. Parts of the documents have the ring of authenticity, but none can be trusted because of the suspicion cast over the whole. It seems to me, therefore, that it would not be sufficient merely to dismiss these volumes in a review as untrustworthy fragments presented in a matrix of fabrication. The documents that are authentic, if there are any, may be really important for the history of the Virginia-Pennsylvania frontier in the middle of the eighteenth century and I think that historians ought to be informed, if possible, how much can be depended upon. I doubt very much whether Jacob Horn wrote in his diary in 1760 the following remarkable utterance: "I, Jacob Horn, first, Virginia next, and Parliament when it is good to my will." But if he *did* write this, and other expressions almost as interesting, I for one should like to know it. I should also like to know how far we can trust his comments on the fur trade and the early iron industry. Moreover, there is presented here an opportunity for a psychological study in motivation that might prove interesting. Obviously the volumes are not intended as a hoax. I think it equally obvious that they were not intended to defraud. But what was the motive?

Sincerely,

JULIAN P. BOYD

PENNSYLVANIA'S SECOND YEAR AT WAR, DECEMBER 7, 1942–DECEMBER 7, 1943. By *S. K. Stevens, Marvin W. Schlegel,* and *Joseph T. Kingston.* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1945, pp. vii, 175.)

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

ALL THESE PEOPLE: THE NATION'S HUMAN RESOURCES IN THE SOUTH. By *Rupert Bayless Vance* and *Nadia Dainlevsky*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1946, pp. 536, $5.00.) "An extensive survey of the population resources of the South with relation to health and culture levels, and to the structure of the southern industrial and agrarian economy."

PROCEEDINGS AND ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MARYLAND, 1766–1768. Edited by *J. Hall Pleasants*. [Archives of Maryland, LXI.] (Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1944, pp. cviii, 616.) Of the subseries of the *Archives* pertaining to the proceedings of the General Assembly this volume is the twenty-ninth (its designation on page ix as the twenty-eighth is evidently an error); and it can

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not escape observation that the legislative grind, particularly from the beginning of the eighteenth century, was a fairly steady one—a hopperfull every three years. To keep pace with the sins of omission as well as of commission of the people of the colony, the General Assembly was of necessity an exceedingly busy body, even though attending strictly to its own business. What a multitude of things the legislative hand found to do! And always to the modern observer perched on a limb, there are surprises, strange antics in the parade. One that piques the curiosity is that it became needful to provide a legislative foundation for a desired marriage settlement between Charles Carroll of Carrollton and his intended bride, Mary Darnall (an "Infant"). What will be new to most, though it ought not to surprise any, is that the itching fingers of that cosmopolitan, Benjamin Franklin, once thrust some ingredients into the Maryland antiproprietary cauldron, though all unbeknownst at the time whose hand it was. It is particularly deserving of notice that it was during this period that Maryland first made provision for the institutional care of the poor, the ill, and the mentally defective. The three-year period covered by this volume begins just when the Stamp Act storm was receding into the distance, although not quite all the reverberations of that storm had died away; accordingly the period is one of relative calm—barring of course the grumbles and growls stirred by the proprietary issue, which was perennial. It was almost as the session was closing, in June, 1768, that the Townshend Acts set a new storm whirling about their heads. As always, the extensive introduction by the editor, Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, makes smooth the way.

NEWES FROM THE NEW-WORLD: WHEREIN MAY BE SEENE THE EXCELLENT QUALITIES OF THE BEASTES OF THE FIELDE, THE FISH AND FOWL, AS WELL AS THE SINGULAR AND RARE VERTUES OF THE EARTH AND AIR OF THAT GOODLY LAND. Edited by *Louis Baker Wright.* (San Marino, Calif., Huntington Library, 1946, pp. 29, $1.00.) "John Smith's letter to the Cordwainers of London and three other early descriptions of America."

NEGRO OFFICE-HOLDERS IN VIRGINIA, 1865–1895. By *Luther Porter Jackson,* Professor of History, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia. (Norfolk, Guide Quality Press, 1945, pp. xii, 88.)

MEMORIES OF AN OLD-TIME TAR HEEL. By *Kemp Plummer Battle,* President of the University of North Carolina, 1876–1891. Edited by his son, *William James Battle,* Professor of Classical Languages in the University of Texas. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1945, pp. xii, 296, $3.00.) The chief claim to distinction of the writer of these memoirs was his fifteen-year presidency of the University of North Carolina immediately after the Reconstruction period. In addition, he served as a member of the North Carolina secession convention, as state treasurer, as president of a railroad company, and as professor of history in the university after his retirement from its presidency. Becoming professor emeritus in 1907 at the age of seventy-five, he published a two-volume *History of the University of North Carolina,* and then, on his eighty-first birthday, he began writing his memoirs. At the time of his death in 1919 they had been brought to the 1880's. His son recently prepared the unfinished manuscript for publication. The *Memories* are discursive, rambling, and full of trivial matters; yet they contain much that will interest students of American and especially of North Carolina social history. They tell of travel on early railroads, of children's games, of county court days and elections, of the branding of a criminal, of repartee between Confederate soldiers and a little Negro boy, of family gatherings, of student

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life at the University of North Carolina, of vacations in the mountains and in the North, and of a host of other things. They contain dozens of vignettes of friends and of members of the large and influential Battle family. Battle was obviously not trying to prove that he had played an important role in the affairs of state. At the end of a long and good life he was at peace with himself and the world, and he preferred to remember friends, pleasant scenes, and joyful and humorous events rather than to recount and defend his public career. The book contains fifteen pages of illustrations. The lack of an index is regrettable. CHARLES S. SYDNOR

LONE-STAR VANGUARD: THE CATHOLIC RE-OCCUPATION OF TEXAS (1838–1848). By *Ralph Bayard,* Saint Mary's Seminary, Perryville, Missouri. (St. Louis, Vincentian Press, 1945, pp. xiii, 453, $3.75.) This book's subtitle is a succinct synopsis of its contents, while the term "Vanguard" indicates its concern with men who were nineteenth century counterparts of the church militant. One of several studies projected by the Vincentian Fathers to relate the story of the congregation of the mission in the United States, the book is essentially a biography of John Timon, visitor of the American Vincentian Province, 1835–1847, and prefect apostolic of the Texas Republic, 1839–1841. John Mary Odin, first Catholic bishop of Texas, is the second major figure; while brief sketches of their coworkers round out the picture of the refounding of Catholicism in Texas. Enough of geography, social happenings, and personalities is included to give a good impression of Texas of the period. End-paper maps show "the Vincentian West of 1838–1848." Timon's progress from his birthplace in Pennsylvania to Baltimore, to Louisville, to St. Louis, and to his priestly training at St. Mary's-of-the-Barrens in Perry County, Missouri, is striking in its parallelism with the westward progress of Moses Austin, who left the same locality in Missouri on his quest for permission to settle Texas. To continue parallelism, the author is professor of ecclesiastical history at Timon's old college, St. Mary's-of-the-Barrens. Division of the volume into three books indicates the stages of the progress of Catholic reoccupation of Texas: first, the mission, during which Timon made his reconnaissance of Catholic survivals and potentialities in the republic; second, the prefecture, during which the Vincentians replaced the few remaining priests, the republic was recognized by Rome, and the congress of the republic passed a statute transferring Catholic church property in Texas to the Vincentians, the French chargé, Alphonse de Saligny, being chief lobbyist for the transfer; third, the vicariate apostolic, featured by Odin's consecration as bishop and the establishment of the Ursuline Academy and building of St. Mary's Cathedral in Galveston. Bayard's book is impressively scholarly in its use of manuscript sources, careful footnotes, index, and well-organized bibliography with its emphasis on location of new reference material. It is a worthy item of Texana in celebration of the centennial of statehood. LLERENA FRIEND

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HENRY MCGILBERT WAGSTAFF. A Footnote to Social History. *Ibid.*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

MIDWEST AT NOON. By *Graham Hutton.* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. xv, 351, $3.75.) The Midwest has arrived. An Englishman has written a book about it. He likes the Midwest. He is fairly enthusiastic about every feature of it but the weather—and this from an Englishman! Despite the fact that he never modified an inflection in his English accent, he found nothing but hospitality and kindness in the thousands of people he met as he crisscrossed the region in every known kind of vehicle. He stayed in farmhouses, in villages, in small cities, and in every midwestern metropolis. The only place he missed was Rochester, Minnesota, a microcosm of all the peoples and classes he sought—and something more. Everywhere and in everybody he found exemplified "the unwritten law of all America, which is more uniformly observed than many laws on American statute books: namely, that of the goodness to the stranger." Still he thinks the Midwest does not like Englishmen. This denial of his own experience might show that he lived long enough there to begin to take the Chicago *Tribune* seriously. But he doesn't. His discussions of newspapers and of politics with their comparisons with England are among the best in the volume. After all he really is not uncritical, but he is so kindly about it and so optimistic about everything coming out all right in the end that he shows why the Midwest could and did open to him every door at which he knocked. He is not "a modern Bryce" despite the publisher's blurb. He is rather a later and better Muirhead,

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whose *The Land of Contrasts* is still worth reading. Any American, certainly any midwesterner, should appreciate such a book as *Midwest at Noon*. It deserves to be a best seller on the nonfiction list, at least in the region it depicts. G. S. F.

A DESCRIPTION OF KENTUCKY IN NORTH AMERICA: TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING THE UNITED STATES. Edited by *Thomas D. Clark*. [Kentucky Reprints, No. 3.] (Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1945, pp. xiii, 120.) This book is another example of the good work which Professor Clark has been doing in collecting and republishing rare Americana. It is the third in the series of reprints for which he has been responsible. According to his editorial introduction, the book was published in 1792 by Harry Toulmin, a transplanted Englishman who arrived in America that year. Toulmin soon made the acquaintance of Jefferson and Madison, who influenced him to move to Kentucky. In 1794 he became president of Transylvania Seminary, and two years later secretary of state of Kentucky. In 1804 he removed to the Mississippi Territory as a judge of the superior court. As Professor Clark points out, the book is a compilation of the writings of others, not a description of his own observations. He used the writings of Jedidiah Morse, Imlay, Eddis, Bartram, Brissot de Warville, Hector St. John, and Jefferson. The description of Kentucky is less than half of the book, the other part being "Miscellaneous Observations Respecting the United States of America." In both parts Toulmin blends his sources into a connected, readable account, most of which is very interesting reading even today. His object was to provide facts in inexpensive form for Englishmen who might be interested in moving to America. While most of the material may be found elsewhere, this little volume provides a handy and valuable reference for teachers and students of early American history. Dr. Clark should be congratulated for having it reprinted and thus making a rare item readily available. CULVER H. SMITH

UNION LIST OF OHIO NEWSPAPERS AVAILABLE IN OHIO. Compiled by *Arthur D. Mink*, Newspaper Division, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. (Columbus, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1946, pp. viii, 124, $2.00.)

IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS: CUMULATIVE INDEX, VOLUMES I-XL, 1903–1942, N-Sl. Edited by *Ruth A. Gallaher*. (Iowa City, State Historical Society, 1946, pp. 176.)

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI PHASE IN WISCONSIN. By *W. C. McKern*. [Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 16, No. 3.] (Milwaukee, published by order of the Board of Trustees, 1945, pp. 109–285, plates.) This monograph is a study of pre-literate, early Indian culture in two areas in Wisconsin, one in the western part of the state north of the junction of the Wisconsin and Mississippi rivers and the other in the eastern part around Lake Winnebago and the valleys of the Fox and Wolf rivers. The story of primitive human occupation based upon artifacts and food detritus fills in for Wisconsin, in part, the story of similar studies in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, and Nebraska.

THE OLD CALIFORNIA TRAIL: TRACES IN FOLKLORE AND FURROW. By *Julia Cooley Altrocchi*. (Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1945, pp. 327, $4.00.)

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The Old California Trail concerns itself with the pioneer trails from Independence, Missouri, to Sacramento, California, especially the ones known as the Mormon and Oregon trails and the routes from Fort Hall, Idaho, and Salt Lake City, Utah, westward to the coast. The latter portion of the overland route is more definitely the Old California Trail. The book not only describes the western routes traveled by the Utah, Oregon, and California immigrants but it deals with the folklore as well as with the actual furrows of these old roads. "Julia Cooley Altrocchi has followed this particular covered-wagon route seven times, talking with hundreds of old-timers, collecting the 'tall tales,' and studying the recurrent facts or fictions in the process of becoming folklore—from the shimmering legends of buried gold to the terrible legends of the man-flayed-alive!" By using the material gathered along the trails, she has written an unusual book. From page to page the reader follows the adventures of Mrs. Altrocchi in her westward journey along the pioneer routes as she carefully describes her personal interviews with old-timers, her search for pioneer relics, and her discovery from time to time of remaining evidences of the westward road. The reader also vicariously goes through the multitude of hardships experienced by the pioneer-immigrants who one hundred years ago—with ox teams and covered wagons—traveled over prairies, mountains, deserts, and salt flats, enduring the blasts of cold winds, the burning rays of the sun, the agonizing pangs of thirst and hunger, and the bitter frosts and winter snows. The book gives a new slant on the thousands of homeseekers who migrated half way across a great continent to settle the vast region bordering the Pacific Ocean. The principal emphasis, however, is on the California migration with particular attention being given to the tragedy of the Donner party. Among the thirteen interesting chapters are the following: "Marks on the Trail," "The Covered-Wagon Rendezvous," "Other Trails on the Platte," "The White-Topped-Wagon Road," "Old Fort Laramie," "Silverskull's Wedding and Other Mormon Tales," "Across the Salt," "Up the Sierras," and "Through the Gold Hills to the Fort." The volume contains twenty-two photographs of sites and scenes most of which have not been heretofore reproduced in print. The author's style is clear and vivid, and the story she tells is very interesting. Her historical data are accurately presented. Thus one more book which makes a worth-while contribution to the story of the West is now obtainable. MILTON R. HUNTER

MEXICAN GOLD TRAIL: THE JOURNAL OF A FORTY-NINER. By *George W. B. Evans.* Edited by *Glenn S. Dumke* with a Preface by Robert Glass Cleland. (San Marino, Huntington Library, 1945, pp. xx, 340, $5.00.) On February 20, 1849, George W. B. Evans and fourteen companions, the "Defiance Gold Hunters' Expedition," left Defiance, Ohio, in three sleighs, for Cincinnati, where they were to board the steamboat *Marshall* for a trip down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans, and from there to Port Lavaca, Texas. Here they procured two wagons, mules, and supplies and began an overland journey to California. Their first stop was San Antonio, but they did not tarry there. Next they turned southwestward to San Fernando, Mexico, to follow a wide, looping course, passing through Santa Rosa, San Carlos, Presidio del Norte, Chihuahua, Janos, Santa Cruz, and Los Angeles, striking the St. George Cook road west of Janos. Evans kept a journal of their experiences, describing graphically the country, their vicissitudes, and Mexican rural and town life. He employed stark realism in picturing their thirst in an arid land, cholera, rattlesnakes and tarantulas, and dangers incident to Apache and Comanche forays. Professor Glenn S. Dumke edits Evans' journal, which is published under the auspices of the Huntington Library. The editor's introduction is hardly sufficient to exploit the full value of the

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journal. The reviewer likes better that found in *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition 1540–1542* (Albuquerque, 1940) edited by George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. Nor are the explanatory notes sufficient for the Mexican segment of the Argonauts' trail (pp. 43–141). Several contemporary volumes would have been useful in this connection, *e.g.*, George F. Ruxton's *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1849), which covers well that part of the Argonauts' *journada del muerto* from Chihuahua to Presidio del Rio Grande. Evans was plagued by illness both along the trail and in California, and died shortly after he left the gold fields. Was his death because of a heart ailment or cholera? The editor does not say. In addition, here and there are minor slips. The book's jacket, end-paper map, and illustrations are pleasingly in keeping with the spirit of the journal. CARL COKE RISTER

VIA WESTERN EXPRESS AND STAGECOACH. By *Oscar Osburn Winther*. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1945, pp. xi, 158, $3.00.) With this book Stanford University Press adds another volume to its series on transportation in the Old West. Predecessors include *Cable Car Days in San Francisco* (Kahn), *Paddle-wheel Days in California* (MacMullen), *Bonanza Railroads* (Kneiss), and *Ships of the Redwood Coast* (McNairn and MacMullen). Professor Winther has fully maintained the standard set. His research was done largely in Huntington Library, where he was research fellow, on leave from Indiana University. He has made good use of a wide variety of sources. His bibliographical note presents a comprehensive list of selected books. The illustrations are well selected and instructive. There is a useful index. Dr. Winther has succeeded fairly well in expressing the spirit of the old-time Californian, though his use of the vernacular may at times be questioned. Chief emphasis is placed on the human, more picturesque, exciting aspects and episodes. The author introduces a very large number of names. This may have been carried to excess; for many of the two hundred persons named were wholly inconspicuous individuals. Serious history writing is concerned with significant persons, events, and movements—but this book is not of the monographic type. The statement, "California was admitted into the Union on September 9, 1850, and soon the state officials began arriving in San Jose to take office" (p. 17), leaves an erroneous impression; for the California state government was established in December, 1849, after Burnett's election as governor in November. State government was functioning the better part of a year before actual admission. "Food for horses and mules" (p. 26) instead of "feed" would have sounded strange to stage drivers. It would be more accurate to refer to the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 rather than 1892 (p. 96). The initial cost for letter service by Pony Express was $5.00; but the author fails to mention that this was soon reduced to $1.50 and finally to $1.00. He makes no reference to the "Camel Corps" recommended by Jefferson Davis and authorized by Congress. All these, however, are more or less minor points. Dr. Winther's subject is a fascinating one, and he has given us a book that is both instructive and entertaining. The activities and failure of Adams Express, "Wells Fargo Triumphant," the "whips" of the stagecoach, the "road agents," the Pony Express, "the most romantic episode in the history of transportation in the Far West"—all these, and more, forerunners of the transcontinental railroad, form an important part in the conquest of a continent. ROCKWELL D. HUNT

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Latin-American History

John J. Johnson

GENERAL

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF LATIN AMERICA. By *Roscoe R. Hill.* [Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the National Research Council, American Council of Learned Societies, and Social Science Research Council, Miscellaneous Publication Number 3.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1945, pp. xx, 169, $1.50.) Dr. Hill was well fitted to prepare this handbook not only because of his academic experience but also because of his knowledge of archives. In the introduction he orients the subject and explains the terminology which he employs. He evidently aimed to include in this volume little else than an account of the archives of the central government in each of the countries of Latin America. As he based his treatise in large part upon reports or printed accounts by other writers, it cannot be expected that his knowledge is always exact or all-embracing. It has escaped his attention that there was recently started in the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City a bureau known as the Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, which began in 1940 to print a useful guide to the documents allocated to this new division of the archives. The chapters in the volume under review are arranged alphabetically according to countries. Relatively little space is accorded to the small states. Each of the chapters devoted to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, or Mexico considers the following topics: the history of the respective archives, the

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directors and other personnel of the repositories, the classification and the cataloging of the documents, the materials which the respective archives contain concerning both colonial and national history, and the regulations regarding the custody and the use of the documents. Not of least importance are lists of official publications of national archives. The chapters on Brazil, Chile, Cuba, and Guatemala mention articles and books concerning their archives. In the chapter on Argentina notice also is taken of certain documentary collections which have been donated to that nation by private individuals. Dr. Waldo G. Leland aptly describes this handbook in the preface as a "first aid." It contains a mine of information about Latin-American archives. American scholars hope, however, that eventually it will be supplemented by detailed treatises which will be the outcome of the labors of investigators who have delved deeply among the musty records of this or that repository. WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON

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Historical News

American Historical Association

Through an oversight the announcement of the awarding of the Watumull Prize in the April issue of the *Review* (p. 574) did not include the winner of honorable mention, Bruce T. McCully of the College of William and Mary, for his book *English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism.*

Other Historical Activities

Among the recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following, arranged in chronological order of materials, may be noted: microfilm of papers of, and relating to, Thomas Jefferson, April 30, 1775 to 1856 (originals in the possession of the American Philosophical Society); letter from Lewis Nicola [March, 1777?]; seventeen letters of Hessian officers in the British army, 1777 to 1781; three letters from Charles Pinckney, December 18, 1786, June 16, 1803, and March 8, 1820; one hundred and forty-six papers pertaining to land grants and titles mainly in Russell and Scott counties, Virginia, 1787 to 1893; eighteen letters relating to the French Revolution, written principally by members of the National Convention, 1790 to 1793; letter from Henry Knox to Winthrop Sargent, February 21, 1796; letter from John Henry to James McHenry, April 3, 1797; letter from Thomas Claxton to Wilson Cary Nicholas, February 26, 1801; letter from Thomas Posey to his children and grandchildren, February 4, 1814, with biographical matter; letter from John Quincy Adams to Hyde de Neuville, October 23, 1819; four letters and one document from F. V. Krug to Samuel Williston, December 31, 1828, to January 19, 1833; seventy-three papers of Waddy Thompson, including letters from William C. Preston, Hugh S. Legaré, Andrew Pickens Butler, and others, *ca.* 1832 to 1857; letter from Marquis de Lafayette, October 17, []; additional papers of John Rodgers, mainly papers concerning ships, reports of courts martial, muster rolls, and reports of stores; nine papers, mainly letters from George Bancroft to Jesse D. Elliott and others, 1845 to 1846; letter from Zachary Taylor to William M. Murphy and others, January 23, 1848; ten manuscript volumes, 1851 to 1865, relating to the activities of Gideon & Company (printers), and William D. Colt (notary, Washington, D. C.); two communications from the office of the United States consul at the Port of San Juan del Sur, February 14 and 22, 1857, concerned with the efforts of the Central American Republics to expel William Walker from Nicaragua; typescript translations into English of sixteen documents in Russian archives relating to the Russian American Company and to the cession of Alaska to the United States, 1857 to 1867; photostat of a letter from Mary Lincoln to Caleb B.

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Smith, October 26, 1861; photostat of an autograph paper by Andrew Johnson regarding death, June 29, 1873; about one hundred and eighty letters from Martha [Mrs. David] Murray, from Japan and China, 1873 to 1879; about one hundred and fifty-six papers of, and relating to, Walt Whitman, *ca.* 1880 to 1941; fourteen autograph letters from Francis Marion Crawford to Samuel Ward, May 11, 1881, to October 5, 1882; additional papers of George Bancroft and Alexander Bliss; seventeen letters, mainly to Albert Henry Walker from Albert J. Beveridge, Knute Nelson, Henry Cabot Lodge, and others, November 3, 1882, to February 17, 1913; letter from Henry Fawcett to W. B. Gill, March 21, 1883; about one hundred additional papers of Horatio King, pertaining to the activities of the Saturday Evening Literary Club of Washington, D. C., 1884 to 1887; fourteen letters from Oliver Wendell Holmes (the "Autocrat") and one from Mary Mapes Dodge to Helen Hopekirk Wilson, September 7, 1885, to November 8, 1896; letter from Benjamin Harrison to his son, August 8, 1887; nine papers from the correspondence of Alfred Thayer Mahan and Ellen Lyle Mahan, with Francis Vinton Greene, April 5, 1899, to April 12, 1915; additional papers of Edwin A. Van Cise, 1901 to 1904; typescript copy of "Suggestions presented to the SENATORIAL COMMITTEE by The Citizens of Alaska, residing at and in the vicinity of Nome," regarding the welfare of the Territory, July 30, 1903; one volume of poems written by Julia Ward Howe in memory of her brother; microfilm of eight letters and photostats of two letters of Theodore Roosevelt, January 6, 1917, to December 5, 1918; letter from John Burroughs to DeWitt Miller, April 14, []; nineteen boxes of short wave monitoring reports of the Columbia Broadcasting System Listening Station, *ca.* 1938 to 1945; manuscript of "The American Story," broadcast by Archibald MacLeish, 1944; and additional papers of Ellery Cory Stowell.

Several more bodies of records in the National Archives have been reproduced on microfilm and microcopies of them may now be ordered. They include records of the General Land Office, consisting of letters sent to surveyors general and miscellaneous letters sent, 1790–1860; records of the office of the Secretary of War, consisting of letters sent relating to military affairs and registers of letters received, 1800–1860; population schedules of the census of 1830 for Kentucky, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia; records of the Wilkes Exploring Expedition, 1838–42; and records of the Southern Claims Commission, 1871–80.

The Post Office Department has transferred many of its older files to the National Archives, including records relating to the establishment of post offices and the appointment of postmasters, 1790–1930.

The Archivist of the United States has announced the opening of the search room of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York. Manuscript material now available for use at the library includes letters and documents relat-

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ing to the business, legal, and domestic activities of the Roosevelt family, 1715–1928; papers relating to prominent Hudson Valley families in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; manuscripts on American naval history from the Revolution to World War I; and certain sections of Mr. Roosevelt's White House central files for the years 1933–41. The latter include correspondence, reports, and memorandums on the administration of government agencies; correspondence on the enactment of legislation; letters from the public expressing opinions on matters of national controversy; and some correspondence on important events. Also open to the public are official stenographic copies of Mr. Roosevelt's addresses as governor and President; schedules of his daily appointments and trip itineraries; and papers relating to White House social functions. The library's book and pamphlet collection consisting of general works, works on American naval history, and United States government documents for the period of Mr. Roosevelt's administration, all White House press releases issued during his presidency, and eighty-five volumes of newspaper clippings covering almost every phase of his public career are now available. Students and writers may also have access to Mr. Roosevelt's collection of some 6,000 photographs and to his large collection of naval paintings, art objects, family relics, and museum items.

The Institute for Historical Research of the University of London has accepted, for deposit in the Institute library, a bequest by M. Seymour Montefiore de Ricci of his collection of notes and indexes relating to a survey of manuscripts in the British Isles. These have been compiled on a plan similar to that used in M. de Ricci's *Census of Medieval and Renaissance MSS. in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935–40). This collection of some 50,000 well-arranged cards should prove a valuable source of information for students.

Since January 1, 1946, the manuscript department of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society library has acquired a McKinley collection of forty-three pieces, the gift of George B. Cortelyon of New York City; the Sexton collection of Civil War and early banking material in Ohio; a St. Clair manuscript of 1800; a large collection of manuscripts and letters concerning old Ohio mills and canals; Ohio governors' correspondence, 1814–21 and 1832–36; a large collection of old manuscript maps from the Ohio department of public works; and a large collection of early Ohio pamphlets.

"The History of the Crusades," dedicated to the memory of Dana C. Munro, a co-operative project sponsored by the Mediaeval Academy of America, has been revived after having been suspended during the war. The work, to be in four volumes, modeled after the Cambridge Histories, will attempt to give a comprehensive history of the Crusades both as a manifestation of European expansion and in their effects on the Moslem East. Approximately forty scholars—American,

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British, French, Belgian, Egyptian, and Syrian—have agreed to contribute chapters. The editors hope that the bulk of the work will be completed by the end of 1948 and that the finished volumes will appear about 1950. Professor Frederic Duncalf of the University of Texas is editor in chief, Professors A. C. Krey of Minnesota and John L. LaMonte of Pennsylvania associate editors. The project is still undergoing some readjustments, and any suggestions from scholars interested will be welcomed by the editors. Please communicate with J. L. LaMonte, 4010 Pine Street, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

The council of the Mediaeval Academy of America, at the annual meeting held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on April 26, 1946, appointed Professor W. H. Dunham of Yale to succeed the late Professor W. A. Morris of California as editor of *The English Government at Work, 1327–1336*. This study of the actual workings of the various departments of the English government during an important decade of the early fourteenth century will be completed in three volumes. The first volume, *Central and Prerogative Administration,* edited by J. F. Willard and W. A. Morris, was published by the Mediaeval Academy in 1940. The second volume, *Fiscal Administration,* edited by W. A. Morris, with an introduction by J. R. Strayer of Princeton, has gone to the printer and should be ready for distribution before Christmas, 1946. Professor Dunham hopes to have the third volume, dealing with judicial and local administration, ready for publication early in 1947.

The evidence for the Nuremberg war crimes trial of twenty-two major Nazi criminals will be published in a six-volume work, "Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression," to be released soon by the Government Printing Office. The six volumes will contain English translations of all the documentary evidence collected by the American and British prosecuting staffs, and have been prepared by lawyers on the staff of Justice Robert H. Jackson, chief United States prosecutor. The first two volumes are composed of explanatory matter serving as background for the other four volumes containing 2,000 documents. A minimum of legal phraseology is used. Tentative price of this historic work is $12.00, until the final cost of printing is determined. Copies will not be available from any source other than the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

A historical research association was founded in Japan in 1934 and disbanded by the government of Japan in 1944. This association is now being reorganized, with the object of studying Japanese history from a scientific viewpoint. Its members are attempting to correct the nationalistic interpretation of history which has been deliberately fostered by the Japanese government over a long period of years. Because of government censorship and police persecution, progressive historians

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were in the past unable to conduct scientific research or publish the results of such research. Under the new conditions resulting from Japan's defeat, Japanese historians will for the first time be able with freedom to counteract the mythology which has been utilized to further nationalism and militarism. The historians hope to publish material which will accurately explain Japan's social and political development. It is the plan of the research association to rewrite Japanese history entirely. At present they are studying the beginnings of the feudal system in the eleventh century. As soon as possible they will concentrate their efforts on more recent times. They point out the difficulty of obtaining material on recent Japanese history and that no accurate or satisfactory historical work has yet been published dealing with the period since Meiji. The progressive historians in Japan hope to make contact with similar groups in the United States and to obtain access to books and research material which would be of assistance to them. They particularly desire to co-operate with historical societies in the United States interested in the Far East.

The War Department is preparing a study of the history of the Congressional Medal of Honor. Documentary information is desired concerning time, place, and related circumstances surrounding the actual presentation of medals of honor, particularly during and after the Civil and Indian wars. Communications may be addressed to Mr. Thomas W. Huntington, Bureau of Public Relations, Office Chief of Staff, The Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

The government of Guatemala has given formal approval for an archaeological project to be undertaken over a five-year period by the United Fruit Company, to restore ancient Guatemalan Indian cities' ruins. Work has already begun at Zaculeu under the direction of John M. Dimick, expert in Middle American archaeology. Dr. A. V. Kidder of the Carnegie Institution of Archaeological Research acts in an advisory capacity for the United Fruit Company.

The Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) has made a grant of $15,000 to the University of Oklahoma Foundation for the writing of a history of the oil industry of the Southwest. The university has named Professor Carl Coke Rister to do the work.

Harlow Lindley, secretary of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, has been commissioned to write a centennial history of Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. The college was founded in 1847.

The following Guggenheim fellowships for 1946–47, some of them under the Foundation's plan for post-service fellowships, have been awarded for research in historical and related subjects: Willmoore Kendall, major, Army, political scientist

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and former UP correspondent in Madrid, an analysis of the political writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau from the standpoint of the debate about majority rule in the modern state; Mitchell Franklin, legal counsel for UNRRA in the Mediterranean area, professor of law in Tulane University, recently major, Army, a study of Edward Livingston and of his influence on Jefferson and the Jeffersonian jurists, on the French jurists of Louisiana, on the constitutional thought of Jackson, and on the codification theory of Bentham; Arthur Meier Schlesinger, jr., recently analyst, OSS, a political-intellectual history of the period of the New Deal; Robert Hayward Barlow, director of native language teaching for the state of Morelos, Mexico, the history of the empire of Montezuma; Hans Rosenberg, Brooklyn College, a history of the Prusso-German Junkers as a social class; Arthur J. Marder, University of Hawaii, a history of British sea power in the dreadnought era; George P. Fedotov, Russian Theological Seminary of St. Vladimir, New York City, a history of the Russian religious mind in the Middle Ages; Warren Stenson Tryon, Simmons College, a history of the Boston publishing and bookselling house of Ticknor and Fields; Mary Hatch Marshall, Colby College, Waterville, Maine, studies in the history of medieval religious plays; Richard Gordon Lillard, Indiana University, the writing of a book on the part played in American history by the forest between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River; James Henry Oliver, Columbia University, recently major, Army, a history of the Adriatic in antiquity; Henry Rudolph Immerwahr, recently sergeant, Army, a book on popular speech in Athens, based primarily on a collection of Athenian vase inscriptions; Harwood Lawrence Childs, Princeton University, recently member of the staff of OWI, a book on public opinion, based in part on the experience of the Office of War Information; Walter Bernhard Schiffer, Institute for Advanced Study, a study of the conflicting theoretical ideas underlying the League of Nations; Josef Berger, a writer for the Democratic National Committee, to go to Soviet Russia to prepare a book on the Soviet Union, especially concerning its young citizens, intended for American youth; Holman Hamilton, captain, Army, former editor of the Fort Wayne (Indiana) *Journal-Gazette*, a book on the inner history of President Zachary Taylor's administration; Leo Gershoy, Sarah Lawrence College, recently head of French section, office of the director, overseas branch of the OWI, a biography of Marshal Pétain; James Thomas Culbertson, Columbia University, war work under OSRD contract, a biography of Sir Patrick Manson, the founder of tropical medicine; Marie Kimball, curator, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Charlottesville, a life of Thomas Jefferson for the period 1776–1789; Alrik Gustafson, University of Minnesota, a biography of August Strindberg, Swedish dramatist; Robert Cecil Bald, Cornell University, a biography of John Dunne; Ernest Albert Strathmann, Pomona College, a book on the life and works of Sir Walter Raleigh as an exemplar of skeptical tendencies in Elizabethan thought; Clyde Kay Maben Kluckhohn, Harvard University, recently chief of the Far East policy-planning unit, OWI, a book on the relation of anthropology to contem-

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porary problems; Marshall Clagett, Columbia University, recently lieutenant commander, Navy, a study of the fourteenth century scholar, Richard Swineshead, and of his place in the history of science in general and in the history of physics and calculus in particular; Theodore Silverstein, University of Kansas City, recently major, Army, a study of Bernard Silvestris, twelfth century Belgian scholar, and of his place in the history of science and learning; Herbert Silvette, School of Medicine, University of Virginia, the writing of a life of Philemon Holland, Elizabethan translator and physician, with an account of medical practice in his time; Paul Harold Kocher, University of Washington, a study of the relations between religion and science during the English Renaissance; Francis Lee Utley, Ohio State University, a study of the apocryphal stories of the Flood, derived and amplified from the Biblical text; Wolf Leslau, Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes, New York, the languages, traditional history, and folklore of Ethiopia; Alice Elizabeth Kober, Brooklyn College, to try to decipher the so-called Minoan scripts found at Knossos on the island of Crete; William Matthews, University of California, Los Angeles, the preparation of a descriptive bibliography of British diaries and memoirs.

The Pulitzer prize in history for 1945 went to Arthur M. Schlesinger, jr., for his volume *The Age of Jackson*. The biography prize was awarded to Mrs. Linnie Marsh Wolfe for her biography of John Muir, the naturalist, under the title *Son of the Wilderness*. Mrs. Wolfe died September 15, 1945.

The Laetare Medal for 1946 has been awarded by Notre Dame University to Carlton J. H. Hayes, Seth Low professor of history in Columbia University.

The thirty-ninth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Bloomington, Indiana, April 18–20. Herbert A. Kellar of the McCormick Historical Association, Chicago, was elected president for the coming year, and the new members of the executive committee are Fred W. Willburn, Iowa Teachers College, Fletcher M. Green, University of North Carolina, Albert T. Volwiler, Ohio University, and Carl C. Rister, University of Oklahoma. At the dinner meeting William C. Binkley of Vanderbilt University gave the presidential address, "The War and the Historians."

At the annual meeting of the corporation of the Mediaeval Academy of America, held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on April 27, 1946, the following officers were elected: Richard P. McKeon, dean of the division of humanities in the University of Chicago, second vice-president; John Nicholas Brown of Providence, Rhode Island, treasurer; Edgar N. Johnson, professor of history in the University of Nebraska, Einar Joranson, professor of history in the University

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of Chicago, Charles Grant Loomis, professor of German in the University of California, A. E. R. Boak, professor of ancient history in the University of Michigan, and Edward H. Sehrt, professor of German in the George Washington University, councillors. Professor J. R. Strayer of Princeton was re-appointed chairman of the advisory committee on research of the academy, and Dr. Robert S. Lopez of Yale University was named a member of this committee.

Thomas F. O'Connor, historiographer of the archdiocese of New York, was elected president of the American Catholic Historical Association at its twenty-sixth annual meeting in Washington, December 19, 1945. Other officers elected for the current year are Professor Friedrich Engel-Janosi of the Catholic University of America, first vice-president, and the Reverend Peter M. Dunne, S.J., of the University of San Francisco, second vice-president; Msgr. John K. Cartwright of Washington, treasurer, and the Reverend John Tracy Ellis of the Catholic University, secretary. Professor Oscar Halecki of Fordham University and Sister M. Gilbert Kelly, O.P., of Rosary College, were named as new members of the executive council.

The American Book Center for War Devastated Libraries, Inc., an organization born of the combined interests of library and educational organizations, of government agencies, and of many other official and nonofficial bodies in the United States, is collecting and shipping abroad scholarly books and periodicals which will be useful in research and necessary in the physical, economic, social, and industrial rehabilitation and reconstruction of Europe and the Far East. The Center cannot purchase books and periodicals; it must depend upon gifts from individuals, institutions, and organizations. Each state will be organized to participate in the program through the leadership of a state chairman, and other chairmen will organize interest in the principal subject fields. Co-operation with these leaders or direct individual contributions are welcomed. Emphasis is placed upon scholarly publications issued during the past decade which are important contributions to their fields, and upon periodicals (even incomplete volumes) of significance. Only carefully selected federal and local documents are needed, and donors are requested to write directly to the Center with regard to specific documents. Textbooks, recreational and popular reading, and materials of purely local interest or of little enduring significance are not wanted. It is hoped that donors will assume costs of transportation, but when this is not possible reimbursement will be made upon notification by card or letter of the amount due. The Center cannot accept material which is sent collect. If possible, periodicals should be tied together by volume, and it will be helpful if missing issues are noted on incomplete volumes. All shipments should be sent to the American Book Center, c/o Library of Congress, Washington 25, D.C.

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The latest periodical in the field of the history of science is the *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*. The first issue of this quarterly is very promising both in contents and in format. The type, illustrations, and paper are superior. The publisher is Henry Schuman, New York City, and the annual subscription price is $7.50.

Readers consulting the bibliographical lists of articles in the *Review* will note that the publication dates of foreign periodicals range back to the early years of World War II. Periodicals for these years are just being received and in this and following issues the section editors will freely fill in gaps back to 1940–1941.

Personal

The death of Sir John Clapham on March 29, 1946, close on the heels of that of Edwin F. Gay, removes from the scene the last of the grand old men of economic historiography. John Howard Clapham (born 1873) started out to be a "straight" historian, won first place on the History Tripos list at Cambridge in 1895, and revealed his interest in the French Revolution in his *Causes of the War of 1792* (1899) and his *Abbé Sièyes* (1912). But in his first years as fellow and lecturer at King's College he turned toward economics and economic history. Six years as professor of economics at Leeds University (1902–1908) completed his conversion and led to the publication of his *Woollen and Worsted Industries* (1907). In 1908 his old college called him back, and for the rest of his life Cambridge was the center of his work and affection. He served King's College as fellow, dean, tutor, and eventually vice-provost for thirty-five years, and became the university's first professor of economic history when a chair was created for him to occupy in 1928. The years were crowded and fruitful for Clapham as teacher, author, editor, and administrator. His *Economic Development of France and Germany, 1815–1914* appeared in 1921. His *Economic History of Modern Britain* came out in three massive installments in 1926, 1932, and 1938. He initiated and edited the *Cambridge Studies in Economic History*, now a dozen volumes strong. He wrote chapters for four of the Cambridge Histories. Then in 1934 he joined hands with Eileen Power to plan the *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, and when death struck Miss Power down in August, 1940, he saw the first volume through the press during the grim months that followed. He was a syndic of the Cambridge University Press. In 1938 he retired from teaching, to step immediately into the work of preparing a history of the Bank of England in celebration of the bank's two hundred and fiftieth birthday. Once a week he traveled up to London to work on the records, and weekly rejoiced to find the Old Lady still standing, a bit scarred but solid and open for business. Like his subject he kept going, and the two-volume study appeared on time in 1944. His

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knighthood, conferred in 1943, like his presidency of the British Academy in 1940, was a fitting tribute to his services to Cambridge and to scholarship. He had lifted the study of economic history out of the realm of schematic generalizations and of that emotionalism, born of class controversy or zeal for social reform, which colored much of the teaching of the modern story. He tried to measure phenomena, to see the whole picture in its diversity, and to give each bit its proper size and perspective. He was convinced that the "stage schemes" and "ideal types" "have done more harm than good to the study of economic history." He shunned abstract concepts, protested against the economists' display of neatly labeled but completely "Empty Economic Boxes," and the word "Capitalism" does not appear in the index of any of his books. Finally, he pleaded that judgments of men and policies, of action or inaction, be made not in the bright colors of ideal or utopian standards but in the grayer tones of what was economically, politically, and administratively possible at any given moment. By that approach through measurement and moderation he revolutionized the treatment of modern economic history; or, to put it another way, he helped it to grow up.

Victor Selden Clark, for many years consultant in economics at the Library of Congress, died in Washington on March 30. He was seventy-seven years of age. Primarily an investigator, and in the course of a long and varied career the occupant of several important posts, he made numerous valuable contributions in the fields of classical scholarship, economics, and history and exerted a wide influence over the work of other scholars. Graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1890, he had developed there, under the tutelage of Harry Pratt Judson, an interest in history which marked all his subsequent work. Further study in Europe and at Columbia University led to a doctorate in classics. Experience as an official in Puerto Rico and Hawaii and as an investigator into labor conditions in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Java, Cuba, and Mexico led him to prepare numerous monographs which were published as bulletins by the United States Bureau of Labor and to write two books of more popular interest upon Puerto Rico and Australasia. He was an inveterate traveler, especially to the Pacific islands and the Far East. During the first World War he rendered valuable service to the government in combing the German newspapers for information of military significance. This experience led to his selection in 1920 as editor of *Littell's Living Age*. His skill as editor during an eight-year term brought to that once well-known and widely influential periodical a new period of prosperity. From 1930 to 1940, as a consultant in the Library of Congress, he rendered valuable assistance to many seekers after knowledge in economics and history. At intervals he was active in an editorial capacity for the Brookings and Carnegie institutions and was often an arbiter in labor disputes. In the historical field his leading achievement was his *History of Manufacturing in the United States* (1916–28) in two volumes. The first edition stopped at 1860; subsequent editions in three volumes brought it down

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to 1929. A work of extensive research, it exemplifies the characteristic qualities of its author—thoroughness, clarity, and detachment, qualities which made him equally valued as the center of a group of scholars in Washington who enjoyed his friendship.

Elbert Jay Benton, a member of the department of history from 1903 to 1941 and dean of the graduate school of Western Reserve University from 1925 to 1941, died in his home at Cleveland on March 28. He was born in Dubuque, Iowa, on March 23, 1871, and received his B.A. at Kansas City University in 1895 and his Ph.D. at Johns Hopkins University in 1903. Except for a few years teaching in high schools before he took his Ph.D., his entire academic career was spent at Western Reserve University. During the past forty-two years he not only played an important part in the university but became one of the leading citizens of Cleveland. Dean Benton enjoyed equal success as teacher, administrator, and scholar. Generations of students rejoiced in his mellow classroom manner and in his tart humor. Although his duties as dean after 1925 cut down the time he could devote to research, his list of publications beginning in 1900 is a substantial one. Among these are *History of Taxation in Kansas, The Wabash Trade Route, International Law and Diplomacy of the Spanish-American War,* and *Peace Without Victory*. His retirement in 1941 as dean of the graduate school and professor of history did not mark any lessening in his activities, for he merely transferred his sphere of work to the Western Reserve Historical Society. Here as director of the society he found time, in spite of heavy administrative duties, to resume his research. From 1943 to 1946 he published three small volumes called *Cultural Story of an American City, Cleveland.* The last of these three came off the press only a few weeks before his death and at that time he was at work on the fourth volume. The rich, well-rounded life Dean Benton enjoyed was of immense value to his fellow citizens, his students, and his colleagues.

Dr. Lolabel House Hall, long the able head of the department of history, economics, and civics of Bay Ridge High School (Brooklyn) died April 27 in New York City at the age of sixty-nine. Dr. Hall received the A.B. from the University of Nashville, 1893, the A.M. from the University of Chicago in 1898, and the Ph.D. in 1901 from the University of Pennsylvania. Her last and very characteristic contribution to the *Review* was the review of the life of one of her teachers, J. B. McMaster (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 72).

Walter L. Wright, head of the historical section of the War Department and earlier president of the American Colleges in Istanbul, has accepted a professorship of Turkish language and history in Princeton University.

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Kent Roberts Greenfield, formerly of Johns Hopkins University, has been made chief historian of the War Department. He will direct the writing of the Army's 120-volume history of World War II and on September 1 will become professional adviser to a special staff section which, with the aid of teams of officers and men working in actual battle zones, has been collecting material for the work since early in the war.

Arthur P. Whitaker of the University of Pennsylvania is teaching in the summer session of the National University of Colombia at Bogotá in July and August. At the conclusion of this summer session he will attend the fourth assembly of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History at Caracas beginning August 22. He will represent the American Historical Association during the sessions.

S. H. Thomson, professor of history in the University of Colorado, delivered three lectures early in April, 1946, at the Charles University in Prague. Under the general title "Some Aspects of American History" he dealt with (1) "The Making of the Constitution," (2) "The Two-Party System at Work," and (3) "The Roots of American Foreign Policy." Professor Thomson was the first historian to be invited after World War II by Charles University, his alma mater.

Lynn Thorndike of the department of history of Columbia University has been elected a corresponding member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Institut de France, Paris.

E. R. Adair has been made professor of history and chairman of the department at McGill University, and, in the same institution, N. Fieldhouse, formerly chairman of the department of history in the University of Manitoba, has been appointed Kingsford professor of modern European history.

Princeton University's department of history announces the following promotions: Robert R. Palmer and Gordon A. Craig to the rank of associate professor and Cyril E. Black to assistant professor.

Sinclair W. Armstrong has been promoted to an associate professorship in Brown University. Barnaby C. Keeney of Harvard has been appointed assistant professor of medieval history and Edmund S. Morgan of the University of Chicago assistant professor of American colonial history in the same institution.

David Grey Poston, assistant professor of history at Montana State College, has accepted a position as associate professor of history in the University of Utah.

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David Maldwyn Ellis, formerly of the University of Vermont and of Cornell University, has been appointed assistant professor of history at Hamilton College.

In June Professors Sidney B. Fay and Charles H. McIlwain attained the status of professor emeritus in Harvard University. Professor Fay will be lecturer at Yale during 1946–47 and will give a seminar on modern European history.

During the academic year 1946–47 Harry Rudin, who has been promoted to professor of history in Yale University, will be lecturer at Harvard and will give courses in modern European history.

Yale University announces the appointment of Bailey W. Diffie of the College of the City of New York to be visiting lecturer in history, Robert S. Lopez of Brooklyn College to be assistant professor of history, John Marsalka to be assistant professor of history and Russian studies, and Wallace E. Davies of the University of Maine, John H. Kennedy of Princeton, Henry C. Meyer, and Rodman W. Paul to be instructors in history. In the same institution William H. Dunham, jr., has been promoted to professor of history, George Vernadsky to professor of Russian history, Thomas C. Mendenhall to associate professor of history, Hartley Simpson to research associate in history, and Basil Duke Henning to assistant professor of history. A. Whitney Griswold has been transferred from the department of government to associate professor in the department of history.

The following promotions and appointments have been announced by the University of Illinois: C. E. Odegaard, E. L. Erickson, and C. E. Nowell to associate professors; R. G. Bone to assistant professor; Josephine Bunch as instructor in history; and George Winston Smith as assistant professor of history in the division of general studies.

Frederic C. Lane has been promoted to professor of history in the Johns Hopkins University and C. Vann Woodward, formerly of Scripps College, has been appointed associate professor in the same institution.

Bert James Loewenberg of Sarah Lawrence College served as acting professor of American history at Cornell University during the second semester of the past year.

Claude A. Buss has been appointed acting professor of history in Stanford University for the academic year 1946–47.

Hans Baron, who was visiting lecturer in history at the Johns Hopkins University in the spring term of the past academic year, will serve in the same posi-

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tion during the year 1946–47. He continues to be a member of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Edwin Bruce Thompson, formerly head of the department of history in Mississippi College, has been appointed associate professor of history in Baylor University.

In Mount Holyoke College Frank E. Bailey was promoted to the rank of associate professor in 1945 and Frederick H. Cramer, chairman of the department of history, has also been made associate professor.

R. John Rath, formerly of Mississippi State College for Women, has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of Georgia.

W. Turrentine Jackson, assistant professor of history in Iowa State College, will lecture on the trans-Mississippi West in the summer session of the University of Minnesota.

Ralph W. Hidy has been promoted to professor of history at Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts. Ernest J. Knapton, also of Wheaton, is visiting lecturer on history for the summer term at Harvard University.

Paul H. Beik, formerly of Columbia College, is now assistant professor of history at Swarthmore College. George P. Cuttino of the University of Iowa has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of history in the same institution beginning with the winter term of 1946–47. He will teach also at Bryn Mawr College.

George A. Hedger of the University of Cincinnati will retire February 1, 1947, and has been granted a leave of absence for the first semester of the year 1946–47. In the same university Miriam B. Urban has been promoted to professor of history, Hilmar C. Krueger to associate professor of history, and Malcolm F. McGregor to associate professor of classics and ancient history.

Daniel D. McGarry has been appointed assistant professor of Latin-American history at Indiana University.

W. A. Aiken has been promoted to associate professor in Lehigh University. George T. Peck, formerly of Northwestern University, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of history, and George W. Kyte as instructor in history in the same institution.

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Clifford Lee Lord, formerly director of the New York Historical Association, has been appointed director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, to succeed Dr. E. P. Alexander.

Lewis Beeson, who has been serving as acting superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, has accepted an appointment as secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing.

During the summer John T. Horton and Julius W. Pratt of the University of Buffalo are to teach at the State University of Iowa and Harvard University respectively.

Beginning in September, Gerhart Ladner of the University of Toronto will be assistant professor of medieval history at the University of Notre Dame. Thomas E. Downey, who served as a historian in the War Department, has accepted an instructorship in Latin-American history at the same university.

E. M. Riley has been appointed assistant professor of history in the University of Chattanooga.

Clement Eaton of Lafayette College is teaching in the summer session of the University of North Carolina.

Teaching in the summer session of Northwestern University are A. C. Cole of Brooklyn College and S. H. Brockunier of Wesleyan University, professors of American history, L. S. Stavrianos of Smith College, assistant professor of European history, and C. G. Crampton of the University of Utah, assistant professor of Latin-American history.

Communications

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Professor Carl Stephenson's article on "The Problem of the Common Man in Early Medieval Europe," published in your April issue, puts me in no little perplexity. Would he deny that the early Roman peasants served in the army? If not, why deny that the early German was a warrior-peasant? Caesar tells us, *De bello Gallico,* I, 29, that the Helvetii, when they left their homeland a waste, burning their towns, villages, and crops behind them, numbered all told, together with their allies, including children, women, and the aged, some 368,000, of whom those who could bear arms were 92,000 strong. Is there any reason to believe that the German migrations and invasions centuries later were essentially different? Surely they were not mere "gentlemanly" enterprises in which peasants and serfs were left behind to get on without their former lords. If so, how do we find free

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Saxon peasants in England with wergelds of two hundred shillings each? Incidentally why should not the king assess a fine of the same amount on anyone who molested such a person?

This suggests the further question whether Professor Stephenson would deny the significance of the popular court (p. 430, "the local *folcgemot*") and of the principle of self-help in early German law. One who shared in these may hardly be dismissed as "normally the humble follower of a lord." What use is the principle of self-help, unless one has the arms and the backing of public opinion to exercise it? Why is anyone permitted to kill an outlaw, unless almost everyone has the weapon to do it with? When and where customary, unwritten law prevails, it will be only the abnormal and exceptional which is put into writing. Not too much stress therefore should be laid on the lack of direct evidence as to the primitive Germans and on the extant records of land grants and commendation. On the other hand, when many persons are called free, why interpret this by an extremely restricted definition of freedom which makes of it little more than a name, and fix a great gulf between the fighting lord and the free peasant, and only a narrow strait between the latter and the serf? I do not deny that this may have become the case; I do dissent from Professor Stephenson's apparent implication that it had always been the case. The very survival of the word "free" tells another story.

I am not sure that a state, or tribe, or horde of Huns or Mongols, where practically every male has to fight, is any better than a society divided into knights and peasants. I am not even quite certain that the common man today has fewer and less rapacious lords than his medieval namesake. But when Wittich is cited concerning "such modern ideas as democracy and the nobility of toil" (p. 427), I recall that even agricultural labor was idealized by ancient writers on the early Roman republic.

Columbia University LYNN THORNDIKE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

As Editor of *Foreign Relations of the United States,* I feel I should not allow to pass without comment the final paragraph in the review of the 1930 volumes by Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis in the April issue of the *American Historical Review,* pages 523–24. Referring to the rules under which the *Foreign Relations* volumes are edited, Professor Bemis writes:

"These rules compel the omission of much important matter, perhaps the most important. . . . If all were published, then we would not have the fun and thrill years hence of turning up important secrets in manuscript records long since forgotten."

I consider the above statement decidedly misleading. I have been on the research staff of *Foreign Relations* since 1930, and the chief editor of the series since 1936. The research staff has been composed for the most part of trained historians or political scientists drawn from college faculties. They conduct their research with a high degree of objectivity. To keep the record within the compass of a reasonable number of thick volumes it is obvious that much correspondence of a routine nature must be omitted and even on subjects of major diplomatic interest not all the minor currents can be indicated. Scholars will naturally differ occasionally as to what documents are of sufficient importance to place in the printed record, but an honest attempt is made to give a substantially complete account of our diplomacy year by year as shown in the Department's archives.

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In conformity with the rules referred to by Professor Bemis, occasionally phrases are deleted, usually because they contain invidious comment on personalities or on friendly countries. A few documents are omitted because of objections from Department officials or foreign governments, and very rarely a set of papers is left out for policy reasons. Generally these omissions are definitely of what might be considered marginal value and little is lost to the reader. The scholar who expects to discover important secrets in American diplomacy in the matter discarded from the *Foreign Relations* volumes is, I am afraid, doomed to disappointment. After more than fifteen years of work in these archives, I know of no such secrets.

There is much supplementary and background material in the files of the Department of State not published in *Foreign Relations* which will be of interest to the specialist. He will not have to wait, however, for years after the *Foreign Relations* volumes are published for his fun and thrill as the archives of the Department are now open to competent scholars through the year 1932. I think it is safe to say that the foreign office of no other major power is so liberal in making its records available.

Washington, D.C. E. R. Perkins

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

It is good, if supererogatory, to have printed the assurances given by such a distinguished and devoted editor as Dr. E. R. Perkins (whose name I inadvertently and regrettably omitted when citing his learned colleagues' work on volumes for 1930). Nobody has ever doubted the competence or training of the historians and political scientists employed by the Department for this work. I note that Doctor Perkins says "a few documents are omitted because of objections from Department officials or foreign governments and very rarely a set of papers is left out for policy reasons." I for one would not be disposed to argue that the public interest required that such materials should be included.

Would it not be also good if Mr. Perkins's refreshing letter could be published in the Preface of the next annual volumes of *Foreign Relations* as an explanation of the rules?

Yale University Samuel Flagg Bemis

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Index

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Volume LI

☞*The titles of articles are printed in italics; the titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks, except where they are listed under general headings. The reviewer of a book is designated by* (R).

Abbott, W. C., (ed.) "The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell," III, 109.

Aberly, John, "An Outline of Missions," 529.

Adair, E. R., (R) 370.

Adamic, Louis, "A Nation of Nations," 505.

Adams', Henry, Diary of a Visit to Manchester, ed. by Silver, 74–89.

Adams, Herbert Baxter, Prize, 580; Com. for 1946, 584.

Adams, J. T., *et al.* (eds.) "Album of Am. Hist.: 1783–1853," 333.

Adams, Norma, (R) 293.

"Adams, Samuel: Selections from His Writings," ed. by Lawson, 764.

"Age of Jackson," by Schlesinger, 510.

Agriculture: Bailey, Seaman A. Knapp, Schoolmaster of Am. Agric., 335; Easterby, ed., The So. Carolina Rice Plantation as Revealed in the Papers of R. F. W. Allston, 516; Jasny, The Wheats of Class. Antiquity, 744; Shannon, The Farmer's Last Frontier, 333.

"Alaska: Promyshlennik and Sourdough," by Tompkins, 737.

Albion, R. G., (R) 161.

Aldington, Richard, (R) 300.

Alexander, A. J., (R) 166.

Allen, G. W., "Walt Whitman Handbook," 765.

"Allied Military Govt., A Rev. of, and of the Allied Commission in Italy: July 10, 1943, D-Day Sicily, to May 2, 1945, Ger. Surrender in Italy," 356.

"Allston, R. F. W., The So. Carolina Rice Plantation as Revealed in the Papers of," ed. by Easterby, 516.

Altrocchi, Julia C., "The Old Calif. Trail: Traces in Folklore and Furrow," 777.

"America Is West," ed. by Flanagan, 734.

"American Diaries," comp. by Matthews, 764.

"American For. Policy," by Borchard, 768.

"American For. Relations, Documents on," VI, ed. by Goodrich and Carroll, 167.

American Frontier—Frontier of What? by Hayes, 199–216.

American Historical Association: ad interim appointments for 1945, 586; Board of Trustees, 591; business meeting, 591; committees for 1946, 583; Council meeting, 583, 594; delegates, 586; Executive Com. for 1946, 594; honorary members, 185; membership, 575; plans for 1946 annual meeting, 589, 594; report of Executive Secy., 575–91; reports of committees, 579–82, 591; 60th annual meeting, 185, 574–75. *See also* Historical Service Board.

American Historical Review: Board of Editors, 583; *Guide to the American Hist. Rev.,* 594; report of Managing Editor, 576–78.

American history: Book reviews, 125–40, 318–50, 505–27, 721-39.

"American Polit. and Soc. Hist.," by Faulkner, 384.

"American Polit. Sci. Assoc., Directory of the. 1945," ed. by Burdette, 555.

American Revolutionary War: Lewis, Admiral de Grasse and Am. Independence, 280; Otto, Considérations sur la conduite du gouvernement américain envers la France, 282.

"American Sayings," by Woods, 761.

"America's Far Eastern Policy," by Bisson, 287.

Amo, Julián, (comp.) "Anuario bibliografico mexicano de 1941 y 1942," 396.

"Ancestors' Brocades," by Bingham, 171.

Ancient history: Book reviews, 103–104, 291–

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93, 491–93, 698–702; notices and lists of articles, 146–47, 357–60, 533–34, 744–47.
Anderson, E. N., (R) 740.
Anderson, F. M., (R) 98, 517.
Andressohn, J. C., (R) 147.
Andrews, Evangeline W. and C. McL., (eds.) "Jonathan Dickinson's Jour. . . . Being the Narrative of a Journey from Port Royal in Jamaica to Phila. between Aug. 23, 1696, and Apr. 1, 1697," 550.
"Angel in the Forest," by Young, 162.
Angell, Robert, *et. al.*, "The Use of Personal Docs. in Hist., Anthropology, and Sociology," 91.
Annual Report, Publication of, Com. for 1946, 584; report of Com., 580.
Appointments and promotions, 195, 415, 605, 798.
Aptheker, Herbert, "Essays in the Hist. of the Am. Negro," 519.
"Arab Heritage," ed. by Faris, 531.
Archer, J. C., "The Sikhs in Relation to Hindus, Moslems, Christians, and Ahmadiyyas: A Study in Comp. Relig.," 716.
"Archery, Arab," tr. and ed. by Faris and Elmer, 149.
Archives. *See* Libraries and archives.
"Arctic War: Norway's Rôle on the Northern Front," 372.
"Aristophanes, The People of," by Ehrenberg, 291.
"Armenia and the Byzantine Empire," by Der Nersessian, 354.
"Armenian Christianity, A Hist. of," by Arpee, 741.
Armes, Ethel, deceased, 415.
Arpee, Leon, "A Hist. of Armenian Christianity, from the Beginning to Our Own Time," 741.
Art and archaeology: Daniel, The 3 Ages: An Essay on Archaeol. Method, 357; Der Nersessian, Armenia and the Byzantine Empire, 354; Finegan, Light from the Anc. Past: The Archeol. Background of the Hebrew-Christian Relig., 700; Gardner, Yankee Stonecutters: The 1st Am. School of Sculpture, 1800–50, 551; Lawrence, The Sarcophagi of Ravenna, 745; McKern, Prelim. Rep. on the Upper Miss. Phase in Wis., 777; Mâle, L'art relig. de XII^e au XVIII^e siècle: Extraits choisis par l'auteur, 535; Rostovtzeff *et al.*, eds., The Excavations at Dura-Europos . . . Prelim. Rep. of the 9th Season of Work, 1935–36, I, 491. *See also* Numismatics.
Artz, F. B., (R) 705.
"Asia for the Asiatics? The Techniques of Jap. Occupation," by Ward, 504.
Astronomy: Hellman, The Comet of 1577, 141.
"Atomic Age Opens," 356.
"Atomic Energy for Military Purposes," by Smyth, 356.
Atwood, E. B., and Whitaker, V. K., (eds.) "Excidium Troiae," 747.
Aubert, L. F., "Securité de l'Occident, Ruhr, Rhin," 755.
"Augustana Synod, Selected Docs. Dealing with the Organization of the 1st Congregations and the 1st Conferences of the, and Their Growth until 1860," I, ed. by Nothstein, 383.
Austria: Notices and lists of articles, 157, 373–75, 544–45, 756–57.
Ausübel, Nathan, (ed.) "Voices of Hist., 1944–45: Speeches and Papers of Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin, Chiang, Hitler, and Other Leaders Delivered during 1944," 146.
Awards: Alexander Prize of Royal Hist. Soc., 191; Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship, 595; Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize, 575; George Lincoln Burr Memorial Scholarship, 411; Guggenheim fellowships, 792; Guggenheim post-service fellowships, 408; Knopf fellowship in history, 191; Library of Congress grants-in-aid, 600; Medieval Academy, Haskins Medal, 191; Pulitzer Prize, 191, 794; Soc. Sci. Research Council, 409; Watumull Prize, 574, 788.
"Axis in Defeat: A Coll. of Docs. on Am. Policy toward Ger. and Japan," 532.
"Axis Rule in Occupied Eur.," by Lemkin, 117.
Aydelotte, W. O., (R) 498.

"Backgrounds of Conflict," by London, 351.
Bailey, J. C., "Seaman A. Knapp, Schoolmaster of Am. Agric.," 335.
Bailey, T. A., "Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal," 288; (R) 287.
Baker, R. S., "Am. Chronicle: The Autobiog. of Ray Stannard Baker," 139.
"Balkan Background," by Newman, 307.

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Baltzly, Alexander, (R) 351.
"Bank of England," by Clapham, 298.
Barbosa, Ruy, by Turner, 348.
Baringer, W. E., "A House Dividing: Lincoln as President Elect," 517.
Barker, C. A., (ed.) "Memoirs of Elisha O. Crosby . . . 1849 to 1864," 564.
Barker, Ernest, (R) 109.
Barnard, F. A. B., "A 17th Cent. Country Gent.: Sir Francis Throckmorton, 1640–80," 540.
Barnes, D. G., (R) 367.
Barnes, H. E., (R) 496.
Barnhart, J. D., (R) 562.
Barnouw, A. J., "The Making of Modern Holland," 143.
Barzun, Jacques, (R) 353.
Bates, R. S., "Scientific Socs. in the U. S.," 320.
Battle, K. P., "Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel," 774.
Baxter, W. T., "The House of Hancock," 326.
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Bell, H. C. F., "Woodrow Wilson and the People," 341.
"Bellamy, Edward, The Philosophy of," by Morgan, 165.
Bellinger, A. R., *et al.*, (eds.) "The Excavations at Dura-Europos . . . Prelim. Rep. of the 9th Season of Work, 1935–36," I, 491.
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Benns, F. L., "Europe since 1914 in Its World Setting," 351; (R) 528.
Benton, E. J., (R) 552; deceased, 798.
Bergström, Rudolf, "Studier till den Stora Krisen i Nordens Historia 1517–23," 372.
Bernstein, Harry, "Origins of Inter-Am. Interest, 1700–1812," 524.
Bertrand, Louis, "Saint Augustin," 360.
Beveridge, Albert J., Memorial Fellowship, 595; Memorial Fund, Com. for 1946, 584; report of Com., 581; Memorial Prize, 575.
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Bisson, T. A., "America's Far Eastern Policy," 287; "Japan's War Economy," 719.

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Blackford, W. W., "War Yrs. with Jeb Stuart," 518.

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Blegen, C. W., (R) 357.

Boak, A. E. R., (R) 744.

Bodin, John, "Method for the Easy Comprehension of Hist.," 90.

Bonner, J. J., deceased, 605.

Borchard, Edwin, "Am. For. Policy," 768.

Born, L. K., (R) 748.

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Boyce, G. C., (R) 702.

Boyd, J. C., communication, 772.

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Brogan, D. W., "The English People," 278.

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Bryson, Gladys, "Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the 18th Cent.," 496.
Buell, R. L., (R) 113.
Buffinton, A. H., deceased, 193.
"Bula in Apostolatus culmine del Papa Paulo III: en virtud de la cual fue erigida y fundada la Universidad de Santo Domingo, primada de America," 179.
Buley, R. C., and Pickard, Madge E., "The Midwest Pioneer: His Ills, Cures, and Doctors," 329.
Bullock, Helen D., "My Head and My Heart: A Little Hist. of Thomas Jefferson, and Maria Cosway," 763.
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Burdette, F. L., (ed.) "Directory of the Am. Polit. Sci. Assoc., 1945," 555.
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Burt, A. L., (R) 752.
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Calder, Isabel M., (R) 558.
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"Canadian Govt. and Politics," by Clokie, 154.
"Canadian Hist., The Picture Gallery of," II, by Jefferys, 368.
"Canadians in Britain, 1939–44," 541.
Cappon, L. J., (introd.) "Iron Works at Tuball: Terms and Conditions for Their Lease as Stated by A. Spotswood on the 20th Day of July 1739," 391.
Cardozo, Manoel, (R) 348.
Carlson, L. H., (R) 366.
Carmen, H. J., (R) 726.
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Carrié, R. A.-, (R) 708.
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Carson, Julia M. H., "Son of Thunder: Patrick Henry," 382.
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Carter, H. L., (R) 174, 381, 505.
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Cassirer, Ernst, "Rousseau, Kant, Goethe," 354.
Casson, Stanley, "Greece and Britain," 143.
"Catalogo de la seccion republicana, 1821–22," 178.
Catherine I of Russia, The Death of, by Kirchner, 254-61.
Catt, Carrie Chapman, by Peck, 164.
"Censorship, A Rep. on the Office of," 554.
Chadwick, H. M., "The Nationalities of Eur. and the Growth of Nat'l Ideologies," 740.
Chamberlin, W. H., "The Ukraine," 158.
Chapman, Maybelle K., (R) 531.
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Cheney, Francis, (comp.) "Univ. Military Training: A Selected and Annotated List of Refs.," 167.
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Chinard, Gilbert, (introd.) Otto, "Considérations sur la conduite du gouvernement américain envers la France, depuis le commencement de la Révolution jusqu'en 1797," 282.
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"Chinese Village, Taitou, Shantung Prov.," by Yang, 377.
Chitwood, O. P., (R) 133.
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Church, F. C., (R) 108.
Church history: Douglas, ed., The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury, 104; Green, Bishop Reginald Pecock: A Study in Eccles. Hist. and Thought, 534; Jacob, ed., The Register of Henry Chicele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–43, III, 148; Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship, 702; Kjaer, Hist. of the Church of Denmark, 372; Laurent, Quebec et l'église aux Etats-Unis sous Mgr Briand et Mgr Plessis, 762; Nothstein, ed., Selected Docs. Dealing with the Organization of the 1st Congregations and the 1st Conferences of the Augustana Synod and Their Growth until 1860, I, 383; Russell, *Lollard Opposition to Oaths by Creatures*, 668–84. *See also* Christianity; Religion; Roman Catholic Church.
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Clapesattle, Helen, (R) 163.
Clapham, Sir John, "The Bank of England," 298; deceased, 796.
Clark, D. E., (R) 386.
Clark, H. H., (R) 724.
Clark, T. D., (ed.) "A Description of Ky in North Am.," 777.
Clark, V. S., deceased, 797.
Clarke, W. K. L., "18th Cent. Piety," 367.
Claspy, E. M, "An Atlas of Polit. Parties in Australia and the U. S.," 356.
"Classical Republicans," by Fink, 296.
Clausen, C. A., (R) 383.
"Clements, William L., Lib.: A Brief Description and Bibliog. Rec.," 143.
Clift, E. H., "Latin Pseudepigrapha," 358.
"Clipper Ship Men," by Laing, 161.
Cloete, Stuart, "Against These 3: A Biog. of Paul Kruger, Cecil Rhodes, and Lobengula," 489.
Clokie, H. McD., "Canadian Govt. and politics," 154.
Clough, S. B., (R) 345, 371.
Clyde, P. H., (R) 719.
Coate, Mary, (ed.) "The Letter-Bk. of John Viscount Mordaunt, 1658–60," 366.
Coates, W. H. (R) 125, 277.
Cole, A. B., (R) 504.
Cole, F.-C., "The Peoples of Malaysia," 379.
Colegrove, Kenneth, (R) 315.
Colenbrander, H. T., deceased, 415.
Colleges and universities: Archives and Museum of the Polish Roman Cath. Union of Am., 407; Battle, Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel, 774; La Bula in Apostolatus culmine del Papa Paulo III: en virtud de la cual fue erigida y fundada la Universidad de Santo Domingo, primada de America, 179; Davis, ed., Corresp. of Thomas Jefferson and Francis Walker Gilmer, 764; Fox, Union College: An Unfinished Hist., 390; Good, comp., A Guide to Colleges, Univs., and Prof. Schools in the U. S.,

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Commager, H. S., (ed.) "The Story of the 2d World War," 528.

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Communications, 197, 607, 802.

Communism: Liberman, Building Lenin's Russia, 503; Schuman, Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad, 713.

Conklin, E. G., (R) 320.

"Connecticut, The Public Recs. of the State of, from May, 1785, through Jan., 1789," comp. by Labaree, 558.

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Cook, T. I., (R) 131.

"Copernicus, Nicholas," ed. by Mizwa, 150.

Corbitt, D. C., (R) 742.

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"Corporation and the Historian," by Pargellis, 142.

"Correspondencia diplomatica de la delegacion cubana en Nueva York durante la guerra de independencia de 1895 a 1898," II, 183.

Coulborn, Rushton, (R) 92.

"Courts and Cabinets," by Gooch, 703.

Coy, O. C., (R) 330.

Craig, G. A., (R) 704.

Craig, Hardin, "Literary Study and the Scholarly Profession," 353; (R) 493.

Craig, Hardin, jr., (R) 296.

Crane, John, and Kieley, J. F., "U. S. Naval Academy: The 1st 100 Yrs.," 386.

Cranston, Alan, "The Killing of the Peace," 288.

Cranston, Ruth, "The Story of Woodrow Wilson," 736.

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Creighton, D. G., (R) 495.

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Crittenden, Christopher, communication, 197.

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Crow, Carl, "China Takes Her Place," 377; "The City of Flint Grows Up," 562.
Crusades, Hist. of (proposed) 790.
Culp, Dorothy, (R) 515.
"Culture Growth, Configurations of," by Kroeber, 92.
Cummins, C. C., "Indiana Public Opinion and the World War, 1914–17," 562.
Cunz, Dieter, (R) 770.
"Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt," by West and Johnson, 698.
"Cyprus, Past and Future," by Vlastos, 355.
Czechoslovakia, historians in, during the war, 603.

Dainlevsky, Nadia, and Vance, R. B., "All These People: The Nation's Human Resources in the South," 773.
Dale, E. E., (R) 333.
Daniel, G. E., "The 3 Ages: An Essay on Archaeol. Method," 357.
Daniels, Josephus, (R) 341.
"Danmark, Kampen for," by Martinsen, 373.
Dannert, Leif, "Svensk försvarspolitik 1743–57 i dess utveckling och inrikespolitiska sammanhang," 156.
"Danske sprogs historie," by Skaustrup, 156.
Darling, A. B., (R) 524.
Das, Taraknath, (R) 312, 314.
d'Aumale, Jacques, "Voix de l'Orient," 531.
Davidson, Philip, (R) 328.
Davis, H. E., "Makers of Democracy in Latin America," 395.
Davis, R. B., (ed.) "Corresp. of Thomas Jefferson and Francis Walker Gilmer, 1814–26," 764.
Davis, Thomas, by Moody, 368.
Davis, W. W., (R) 519.
Debien, G., "Comptes, profits, esclaves et travaux de deux sucreries de Saint-Domingue (1774–98)," 543.
Dee, H. D., (ed.) "The Jour. of John Work, Jan. to Oct., 1835," 751.
"de Grasse, Admiral, and Am. Independence," by Lewis, 280.
de Kiewiet, C. W., (R) 541.
Delanglez, Jean, "El Rio del Espiritu Santo," 549.
"De Lannoy, Ghillebert, in Medieval Lithuania," by Klimas, 361.
Delcourt, Marie, "Erasme," 748.
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"Denmark," 372.
"Denmark, Facts about," 372.
"Denmark, Hist. of the Church of," by Kjaer, 372.
Dennett, Tyler, (R) 338.
Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, "Armenia and the Byzantine Empire," 354.
de Roover, Florence E., (R) 302.
de Tocqueville. *See* Tocqueville, Alexis de.
DeVoto, Bernard, (R) 174.
DeWeerd, H. A., (ed.) "Selected Speeches and Statements of General of the Army George C. Marshall," 767.
Dickerson, O. M., (R) 326.
Dickinson, Emily: Bingham, Ancestors' Brocades, 171.
Dickinson, W. C., "The Study of Scottish Hist.," 154.
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Douglas, D. C., (ed.)"The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church, Canterbury," 104.
Douglas, J. S., (R) 730.
Doukas, K. A., "The Fr. Railroads and the State," 754.
Dubs, H. H., (tr.) Pan Ku, "The Hist. of the Former Han Dynasty," 120.
Dulles, F. R., "20th Cent. Am.," 387.
Dumke, G. S., (ed.) Evans, "Mexican Gold Trail: The Jour. of a Forty-niner," 778.
Dunaway, W. F., "The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pa.," 323.
Dunham, A. L., (R) 754.
Dunkin, P. S., (R) 291.
Dunning, John H., Prize, 580; Com. for 1946, 584.
Dupre, Huntley, "Rafinesque in Lexington, 1819–26," 170.
Durkin, J. T., (ed.) "John Dooley, Confederate Soldier: His War Jour.," 391.
"Dutch E. Indies, The Story of," by Vlekke, 378.
"Dutch Nation, The Evol. of," by Vlekke, 304.
"Dynamic Europe: A Background of Ferment and Change," by Strong, 704.

Earle, E. M., (R) 689, 767.
"East India Co. and the Brit. Empire in the Far East," by Wilbur, 717.
Easterby, J. H., (ed.) "The So. Carolina Rice Plantation as Revealed in the Papers of R. F. W. Allston," 516.
"Eastern Eur. between the Wars, 1918–41," by Seton-Watson, 308.
Easum, C. V., (R) 528.
Eaton, William: Wright and Macleod, The First Americans in North Africa, 283.
Ebenstein, William, "The German Record: A Polit. Portrait," 305.
Economic history: Bisson, Japan's War Economy, 719; Clapham, The Bank of Eng., 298; Debien, Comptes, profits, esclaves et travaux de deux sucreries de Saint-Domingue (1774–98), 543; The Economist, 1843–1943, 153; Mukerjee, The Econ. Hist. of India, 1600–1800, 312; Paxson, *The Highway Movement, 1916–35,* 236-53; Shannon, The Farmer's Last Frontier, 333; Silver, ed., *Henry Adams' "Diary of a Visit to Manchester,"* 74-89; Tait, The Wildcatters: An Informal Hist. of Oil-Hunting in Am., 732; Van Houtte, Esquisses d'une histoire économique de la Belgique, 371; West and Johnson, Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt, 698. *See also* Agriculture; Business history; Labor; Migration; Trade and commerce; Transportation.
"Economist, 1843–1943," 153.
Eddy, Sherwood, "A Cent. with Youth: A Hist. of the Y.M.C.A. from 1844 to 1944," 167.
Eder, J. M., "Hist. of Photography," 352.
Education: Bailey, Seaman A. Knapp, Schoolmaster of Am. Agric., 335; Craig, Literary Study and the Scholarly Profession, 353; Fenner, NEA Hist., 167; Møller and Watson, Education in Democracy: The Folk High Schools of Denmark, 156; Ulich, Hist. of Educ. Thought, 352. *See also* Colleges and universities.
Ehrenberg, Victor, "The People of Aristophanes," 291.
Ehrmann, H. M., (R) 303.
"Eighteenth Cent. Piety," by Clarke, 367.
"Eisenhower, My 3 Yrs. with," by Butcher, 689.
"Elizabeth and Leicester," by Waldman, 539.
Elliott, Margaret A., "My Aunt Louisa and Woodrow Wilson," 736.
Elmer, R. P., and Faris, N. A., (trs. and eds.) "Arab Archery," 149.
Embree, J. F., "The Japanese Nation: A Soc. Survey," 377.
Emmons, W. H., (R) 732.
Engel-Janosi, Friedrich, "The Growth of Ger. Historicism," 142; (R) 90.
Engelberg, Rafael, "Suomi ja Am. Suomalaiset," 735.
Engers, J. F., "Indie in de Branding," 758.
"English Hist., The Spirit of," by Rowse, 537.
"English People," by Brogan, 278.
"English Spirit," by Rowse, 366.
"Enki and Ninḫursag: A Sumerian 'Paradise' Myth," by Kramer, 357.
"Erasme," by Delcourt, 748.
"Europe in Evolution, 1415-1815," by Bruun, 351.
"Europe since 1914 in Its World Setting," by Benns, 351.

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Evans, A. P., (R) 534.
Evans, G. W. B., "Mexican Gold Trail: The Jour. of a Forty-niner," 778.
Evans, L. H., "The Virgin Islands," 346.
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Falnes, O. J., notices and lists of articles, 156, 372–73, 544, 755–56; (R) 360.
Far Eastern history: Book reviews, 120–25, 312-17, 504–505, 716-20; notices and lists of articles, 159–61, 377–81, 547-49, 758–61.
Faris, N. A., (ed.) "The Arab Heritage," 531; *id.* and Elmer, R. P., (trs. and eds.) "Arab Archery," 149.
"Farmer's Last Frontier," by Shannon, 333.
Farrand, Max, deceased, 411.
Fascism. *See* Nazism and Nazi Germany.
Faulkner, H. U., "Am. Polit. and Soc. Hist.," 384.
Fay, S. B., (R) 115, 703.
Fee, W. R., (R) 124.
Fellowships. *See* Awards.
Fenner, Mildred S., "NEA Hist.," 167.
"Fiebre amarilla, Estudios sobre la," by Finlay, 742.
Field, O. P., (R) 767.
Fifield, R. H., *Disposal of the Carolines, Marshalls, and Marianas at the Paris Peace Conference*, 472–79.
"Fighting Liberal: The Autobiog. of G. W. Norris," 343.
Filler, Louis, (R) 139.
Finegan, Jack, "Light from the Anc. Past: The Archeol. Background of the Hebrew-Christian Relig.," 700.
Fink, Zera S., "The Classical Republicans," 296.
"Finland under Etthundratrettio År 1809–1939," by von Törne, 373.
Finlay, C. J., "Estudios sobre la fiebre amarilla," 742.
Fishbein, Morris, (R) 530.
Fisher, R. H., (R) 503.
Fisher, S. N., (R) 531.
"Fisheries, Internat. Regulation of," by Leonard, 97.
Flanagan, J. T., (ed.) "Am. Is West: An Anthol. of Middlewest. Life and Lit.," 734.
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Floderus, Erik, "Sigtuna: Sveriges Äldsta Medeltidsstad," 360.
"Florida Centennial, Recommended Readings for the," by Hanna, 173.
Foner, P. S., (ed.) "The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine," 724.
Ford, F. L., *The 20th of July in the Hist of the Ger. Resistance*, 609–26.
Ford, G. S., report of Executive Secy. and Managing Editor, 575-91; (R) 776.
Ford, T. K., (R) 554.
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Foreign relations. *See* International relations.
Fosdick, R. B., (R) 691.
Foster, William, (introd., notes) "The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604–1606," 539.
Fox, D. R., "Union College: An Unfinished Hist.," 390.
Fox, Dixon Ryan, Memorial Fund, 410.
Fraenkel, Ernst, "Military Occupation and the Rule of Law: Occupational Govt. in the Rhineland, 1918–23," 116.
"France, Les grandes crises de l'histoire de," by Lacour-Gayet, 370.
"France and Rhode Island, 1686–1800," by Loughrey, 171.
France: Notices and lists of articles, 155, 370–72, 543–44, 754-55.
"France Yesterday and Today," by Munro, 543.
"Franciscan Order, A Documented Hist. of the," by Huber, 106.
"Franklin, Benjamin, Reader," ed. by Goodman, 761.
Fraser, Lindley, "Ger. between 2 Wars," 374.
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French Military Institutions before the Franco-Prussian War, by Kovacs, 217–35.
French, P. H., communication, 607.
"French Railroads and the State," by Doukas, 754.
French Revolution at Bordeaux, the Prob. of Bread and the, by Brace, 649–67.
Freneau and Jefferson, The Griswold Story of, by Marsh, 68–73.
Friend, Llerena, (R) 775.
Friis, Aage, communication, 185.
Frontier: Hayes, *The American Frontier—Frontier of What?* 199–216; Pickard and Buley, The Midwest Pioneer: His Ills, Cures, and Doctors, 329. *See also* Westward expansion.
Fulton, M. G., (ed.) "Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg," 330.
Furneaux, Rupert, "The 1st War Correspondent: W. H. Russell of *The Times,*" 541.

Gabriel, R. H., (R) 116, 725.
Gallaher, Ruth A., (ed.) "Iowa Jour. of Hist. and Polit.: Cumulative Index, I-XL," 393, 777.
Ganong, W. F., "Ste. Croix (Dochet) Island," 753.
Gardner, A. TenE., "Yankee Stonecutters: The 1st Am. School of Sculpture, 1800–50," 551.
Gargaro, Alfredo, "3 documentos ineditos relacionados con la fundacion de Mendoza," 181.
Garrison, C. W., (ed.) "The U. S., 1865–1900: A Survey of Current Lit. with Abstracts of Unpub. Dissertations," III, 1944, 766.
Gates, C. M., (R) 564.
Gaul, Cyril, deceased, 605.
Gay, E. F., deceased, 603.
Gay-Calbó Enrique, "La Bandera, el escudo, y el himno," 183.
General history: Book reviews, 90–103, 277–90, 485–90, 689–98; notices and lists of articles, 141–46, 351–57, 528–33, 740–44.
"Generals in the White House," by Goebel, 386.
Genzmer, G. H., (R) 551.
Geography: Delanglez, El Rio del Espiritu Santo: An Essay on the Cartography of the Gulf Coast and the Adjacent Territory during the 16th and 17th Cents., 549; Huntington, Mainsprings of Civilization, 277; Jones, Boundary-making, 488; Trewartha, Japan, 123.
"Geopolitics," by Gyorgy, 102.
George, Mary D., "Catalogue of Polit. and Personal Satires Preserved in the Dept. of Prints and Drawings in the Brit. Museum," VII, 1793–1800, 751.
"German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pa.," by Kuhns, 770.
"German Historicism, The Growth of," by Engel-Janosi, 142.
"German Record," by Ebenstein, 305.
"Germany, A Short Hist. of," by Steinberg, 115.
"Germany between 2 Wars," by Fraser, 374.
Germany: Notices and lists of articles, 157, 373–75, 544–45, 756–57.
Gershoy, Leo, (R) 111.
Gilbert, Felix, (R) 740.
Gipson, L. H., *Brit. Diplomacy in the Light of Anglo-Span. New World Issues, 1750–57,* 627–48.
Glazer, Sidney, (R) 393.
Goebel, Dorothy B., (R) 550; *id.* and Goebel, Julius, "Generals in the White House," 386.
Gomme, A. W., "A Hist. Commentary on Thucydides," I, 492; "Greece," 741.
Gooch, G. P., "Courts and Cabinets," 703.
Good, C. V., (comp.) "A Guide to Colleges, Univs., and Prof. Schools in the U. S.," 555.
Goodman, N. G., (ed.) "A Benjamin Franklin Reader," 761.
Goodrich, L. C., (R) 159.
Goodrich, L. M., "Charter of the U. N.: Commentary and Docs.," 744; (R) 288; *id.* and Carroll, Marie J., (eds.) "Documents on Am. For. Relations," VI, 167.
Gordon, R. B., "A List of Bks. on the Hist. of Science," 2d supp., pt. 5, 142.
Goris, J.-A., (ed.) "Belgium," 112.
Gottschalk, Louis, *et al.,* "The Use of Personal Docs. in Hist., Anthropology, and Sociology," 91.
"Government Assistance in 18th-Cent. France," by McCloy, 705.
Government Publications Com. for 1946, 585;

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rep. of Com., 582; resolutions offered by, 592.
Graeff, A. D., "Conrad Weiser, Pa. Peacemaker," 770.
Graham, Frank, "Al Smith, American," 553.
Graham, M. W., (R) 361.
Gras, N. S. B., (R) 298.
Gray, H. L., deceased, 414.
"Greece," by Gomme, 741.
"Greece and Britain," by Casson, 143.
Green, V. H. H., "Bishop Reginald Pecock," 534.
"Gregg, Josiah, Diary and Letters of," ed. by Fulton, 330.
Grew, J. C., "Ten Years in Japan, 1932–42," 315.
Griswold Story of Freneau and Jefferson, by Marsh, 68–73.
Gross, Feliks, "The Polish Worker," 158.
Grossman, Jonathan, "William Sylvis, Pioneer of Am. Labor," 730.
Guggenheim fellowships, 792; post-service fellowships, 408.
Gyorgy, Andrew, "Geopolitics: The New Ger. Sci.," 102.

Haas, W. S., "Iran," 712.
Hackett, C. W., (R) 563.
Hadley, E. J., "The Magic Powder: Hist. of the Universal Atlas Cement Co. and the Cement Industry," 345.
Hainds, J. R., *et al.*, (eds.) "Bibliog. of the Published Writings of J. S. Mill," 368.
Halecki, Oscar, (R) 375.
"Hall Carbine Affair," by Wasson, 383.
Hall, L. S., "Hawthorne, Critic of Society," 170.
Hall, Lolabel H., deceased, 798.
Hall, Vernon, jr., "Renaiss. Lit. Criticism," 493.
Hall, W. P., (R) 717.
Hamilton, J. G. de R., (R) 516.
Hammond, G. P., *et al.*, "Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634," 563.
"Han Dynasty, The Hist. of the Former," by Pan Ku, 120.
"Hancock, The House of," by Baxter, 326.
"Handbk. of Dates for Students of Eng. Hist.," ed. by Cheney, 537.
Hanke, Lewis, (R) 347.
Hanna, A. J., "Recommended Readings for the Fla. Centennial," 173.
Haraszti, Zoltán, "The Works of Hroswitha," 362.
Harper, L. A., (R) 175.
Harper, P. V., (ed.) "The Russia I Believe In: The Memoirs of Samuel N. Harper," 311.
Harrold, C. F., "John Henry Newman," 498.
Hart, Richard, (R) 377.
Haskins, G. L., (R) 537.
Hatcher, Harlan, "Lake Erie," 552.
"Hawaii," by Porteus, 555.
"Hawthorne, Critic of Society," by Hall, 170.
Hayes, C. J. H., *The American Frontier—Frontier of What?* (presidential address), 199-216.
"Hays Office," by Moley, 167.
Hayward, W. B., and Craven, W. F., (introd.) "The Jour. of Richard Norwood, Surveyor of Bermuda," 365.
Hazard, Caroline, deceased, 415.
Heichelheim, F. M., (R) 698.
Hellman, C. Doris, "The Comet of 1577," 141.
Henderson, A. J., "London and the Nat'l Govt., 1721–42," 298.
Henderson, G. B., deceased, 414.
Henríquez-Ureña, Pedro, "Lit. Currents in Hispanic Am.," 526.
Henry, Patrick: Carson, Son of Thunder, 382.
Herrick, F. H., notices and lists of articles, 153–55, 365–70, 537–43, 751–54.
Hexter, J. H., (R) 486.
Hicks, F. C., "Wm. Howard Taft, Yale Prof. of Law and New Haven Citizen," 385.
Hicks, J. D., (R) 343, 734.
Highway Movement, 1916–35, by Paxon, 236–53.
Hill, R. R., "The Nat'l Archives of Latin America," 781.
Hinshaw, David, "A Man from Kansas: The Story of W. A. White," 553.
Historical news, 185, 404, 574, 788.
Historical Service Board, 579, 589.
Historical Source Materials, Com. for 1946, 585.
Historiography: Brooke, The Prospects of Medieval Hist., 147; Dickinson, The Study of Scottish Hist., 154; Engel-Janosi, The Growth of Ger. Historicism, 142; Gomme, A Hist. Commentary on Thucydides, I, 492.

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Hitler, Adolf: Ausübel, ed., Voices of Hist., 1944–45: Speeches and Papers of Hitler, *et al.*, Delivered during 1944, 146. *See also* Nazism and Nazi Germany.
Hodge, F. W., *et al.*, "Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634," 563.
Hodson, J. L., "Brit. Merchantmen at War, 1939–44," 541.
"Holland, The Making of Modern," by Barnouw, 143.
Holm, B. J., notices and lists of articles, 147–53, 360–65, 534–37, 747–51; (R) 142.
Holt, Hamilton, (R) 135.
Honorary Members, Com. for 1946, 584; report of Com., 587.
"Hood, Thomas, Letters of," ed. by Marchand, 367.
Horn, D. B., "Brit. Public Opinion and the 1st Partition of Poland," 540.
Horn, W. F., "The Horn Papers: Early Westward Movement on the Monongahela and Upper Ohio, 1765–95," 771.
"Hovet och Författningsfrågan 1760–66," by Jägerskiöld, 372.
Hoyt, W. D., (ed.) *Zachary Taylor on Jackson and the Military Establishment, 1835,* 480–84.
"Hroswitha, The Works of," by Haraszti, 362.
Huber, R. M., "A Documented Hist. of the Franciscan Order . . . 1182–1517," 106.
Hughes, Muriel J., "Women Healers in Medieval Life and Lit.," 147.
Hulme, E. M., (R) 91.
"Human Nature: The Marxian View," by Venable, 141.
"Hungary," 374.
Hunt, R. D., (R) 779.
Hunter, L. C., (R) 165.
Hunter, M. R., (R) 777.
Huntington, Ellsworth, "Mainsprings of Civilization," 277.
Hutchison, Keith, "Rival Partners: Am. and Brit. in the Postwar World," 532.
Hutton, Graham, "Midwest at Noon," 776.
Hyma, Albert, (R) 143, 758.

"Idées et profils du XVIII[e] siècle," by Tassier, 371.
Immigration. *See* Migration.
"Immortal Village," by Peattie, 370.
Imperialism: Ward, Asia for the Asiatics? The Techniques of Jap. Occupation, 504. *See also* Colonies and colonization.
"India and the Indian Ocean," by Panikkar, 314.
"India, Home to," by Rau, 154.
"India, The Econ. Hist. of, 1600–1800," by Mukerjee, 312.
"Indiana Public Opinion and the World War, 1914–17," by Cummins, 562.
Indians: McKern, Prelim. Rep. on the Upper Miss. Phase in Wis., 777; Moya, Los Indios de Cuba en sus tiempos historicos, 783. *See also* Weiser, Conrad.
"Indie in de Branding," by Engers, 758.
Industrial history. *See* Business history; Economic history.
Intellectual history: Bryson, Man and Society: The Scottish Inquiry of the 18th Cent., 496; Delcourt, Erasme, 748; Fink, The Classical Republicans, 296; Meyer, Voltaire, 111; Perry, Puritanism and Democracy, 129; Russell, A Hist. of Western Philosophy, 485; Ulich, Hist. of Educational Thought, 352. *See also* Literary history.
International law: Fraenkel, Military Occupation and the Rule of Law: Occupational Govt. in the Rhineland, 1918–23, 116; Internat. Law Docs., 1943, 356; Lemkin, Axis Rule in Occupied Eur., 117.
International relations: Axis in Defeat: A Coll. of Docs. on Am. Policy toward Ger. and Japan, 532; Bernstein, Origins of Inter-Am. Interest, 1700–1812, 524; Bisson, Am.'s Far Eastern Policy, 287; Borchard, Am. For. Policy, 768; Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle, 286; Collected Papers of John Bassett Moore, 344; Cranston, The Killing of the Peace, 288; Dannert, Svensk försvarspolitik 1743–57, 156; Fifield, *Disposal of the Carolines, Marshalls, and Marianas at the Paris Peace Conference,* 472-79; Gip-

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"International Secretariat," by Ranshofen-Wertheimer, 691.

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"Iran," by Haas, 712.

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Irwin, R. W., (R) 283.

"Italian Democracy in the Making: The Polit. Scene in the Giolittian Era, 1900–14," by Salomone, 708.

Italy: Notices and lists of articles, 157–58, 375, 545, 757–58.

"Italy, The Devel. of Mod.," by Sprigge, 303.

"Ivan Groznyĭ [Ivan the Terrible]," by Vipper, 158.

Jackson, L. P., "Negro Office-holders in Va., 1865-95," 774.

"Jackson, The Age of," by Schlesinger, 510.

Jacob, E. F., (ed.) "The Register of Henry Chicele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414–43," III, 148.

Jaffe, Bernard, "Men of Science in Am.," 318.

Jägerskiöld, Olaf, "Hovet och Författningsfrågan 1760–66," 372.

James, A. P., (R) 770.

"Japan: A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geog.," by Trewartha, 123.

"Japan, Ten Yrs. in, 1932–42," by Grew, 315.

"Japan, The Rise and Fall of," by Whyte, 547.

"Japanese Militarism," by Maki, 124.

"Japanese Nation: A Soc. Survey," by Embree, 377.

"Japan's War Economy," by Bisson, 719.

Jasny, Naum, "The Wheats of Class. Antiquity," 744.

Jászi, Oscar, (R) 308.

Jefferson, Thomas: Bullock, My Head and My Heart: A Little Hist. of Thomas Jefferson and Maria Cosway, 763; Davis, ed., Corresp. of Thomas Jefferson and Francis Walker Gilmer, 764; Marsh, *The Griswold Story of Freneau and Jefferson,* 68–73.

Jefferys, C. W., "The Picture Gallery of Can. Hist.," II, 368.

Jeffreys, M. K., (ed.) "Kaapse Plakkaatboek," I (1652–1707), 541.

"Jehovah's Witnesses," by Stroup, 166.

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Johansen, Dorothy O., (R) 513, 751.

Johnson, A. C., and West, L. C., "Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt," 698.

Johnson, J. J., notices and lists of articles, 177–84, 395–403, 566–73, 781–87.

Jones, S. B., "Boundary-making," 488.

Jørgensen, Ellen, "Historiens Studium i Danmark i det 19. Aarhundrede," 755.

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Journalism. *See* Newspapers.
Judson, A. C., "The Life of Edmund Spenser," 538.
Julien, Ch.-A., (ed.) "Les Techniciens de la colonisation (XIXe-XXe siècles)," 697.
"Junker Menace," by Martin, 373.

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Kantorowicz, E. H., "Laudes Regiae: A Stud. in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship," 702.
Keesing, F. M., "Native Peoples of the Pacific World," 159; (R) 379.
Keilhau, Wilhelm, "Norway in World Hist.," 156.
Kelsey, Vera, (R) 739.
"Kentucky, A Description of, in No. Am.," ed. by Clark, 777.
Kimball, Fiske, (R) 551.
Kimball, Marie, (R) 763.
Kleiman, Max, (comp.) "Franklin Delano Roosevelt: The Tribute of the Synagogue," 767.
Kluckhohn, Clyde, *et al.*, "The Use of Personal Docs. in Hist., Anthropology and Sociology," 91.
Kerr, W. B., (R) 337.
Kestenberg, Louis, (R) 373.
Kieley, J. F., and Crane, John, "U.S. Naval Academy: The 1st 100 Yrs.," 386.
"Killing of the Peace," by Cranston, 288.
Kirchner, Walther, *The Death of Catherine I of Russia*, 254–61.
Kjaer, J. C., "Hist. of the Church of Denmark," 372.
Klimas, Petras, "Ghillebert de Lannoy in Medieval Lithuania," 361.
Knapp, Seaman A., by Bailey, 335.
Knox, D. W., (ed.) "Register of Officer Personnel, U. S. Navy and Marine Corps, and Ships' Data, 1801–1807," 162.
Kobre, Sidney, "The Devel. of the Colonial Newspaper," 134.
Kohn, Hans, (R) 305.
Kolehmainen, J. I., (R) 735.
Konefsky, S. J., "Chief Justice Stone and the Supreme Court," 767.
Konovalov, S., (ed.) "Russo-Polish Relations: An Hist. Survey," 375.
"Korea and the Old Orders in Eastern Asia," by Nelson, 122.
Kovacs, A. F., *French Military Institutions before the Franco-Prussian War*, 217–35.
Kramer, S. N., "Enki and Ninḫursag: A Sumerian 'Paradise' Myth," 357.
Krey, A. C., (R) 360.
Kroeber, A. L., "Configurations of Culture Growth," 92.
Kruger, Paul: Cloete, Against These 3, 489.
Kuhns, L. O., "The Ger. and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pa.," 770.

Labaree, L. W., (comp.) "The Public Recs. of the State of Conn. from May, 1785, through Jan., 1789," 558.
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Lacour-Gayet, Robert, "Les grandes crises de l'histoire de France," 370.
"Lagbe, The Byzantine Hoard of," by Newell, 146.
Laing, Alexander, "Clipper Ship Men," 161.
Laistner, M. L. W., (R) 358.
Lakes: Hatcher, Lake Erie, 552; Pound, Lake Ontario, 337.
LaMonte, J. L., (R) 149.
Lanctot, Gustave, (R) 762.
Landon, Fred, (R) 368.
Lantzeff, G. V., (R) 158.
Lanza, C. H., (R) 99.
Lapica, R. L., and Brilliant, Barbara, (eds.) "Facts on File Yearbk., 1945," 743.
Laprade, W. T., (R) 540.
Laserson, M. M., and Shotwell, J. T., "Poland and Russia, 1919–45," 545.
Lasswell, H. D., *et al.*, (eds.) "Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion: A Comprehensive Ref. Guide," 743.
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"Latin America, Makers of Democracy in," by Davis, 395.

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Latin-American history: Notices and lists of articles, 177–84, 395–403, 566–73, 781–87.
Latin-American relations. *See* International relations.
"Latin Pseudepigrapha," by Clift, 358.
Latourette, K. S., "A Hist. of the Expansion of Christianity," VII, 95; "The U. S. Moves across the Pacific," 768.
"Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship," by Kantorowicz, 702.
Laurent, Laval, "Quebec et l'église aux Etats-Unis sous Mgr Briand et Mgr Plessis," 762.
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Lawrence, Marion, "The Sarcophagi of Ravenna," 745.
Lawson, Elizabeth, (ed.) "Samuel Adams: *Selections from His Writings*," 764.
League of Nations. *See* International Secretariat.
"Lebendige Vergangenheit," by Ritter, 711.
Lefèvre, Joseph, "Corresp. de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas," 302.
Lefler, H. T., (R) 559.
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Legal History, rep. of Com., 581.
Leikind, M. C., (R) 384.
Lemkin, Raphaël, "Axis Rule in Occupied Eur.," 117.
Leonard, L. L., "Internat. Regulation of Fisheries," 97.
Levy, Babette M., "Preaching in the 1st Half Cent. of New Eng. Hist.," 507.
Lewis, C. L., "Admiral de Grasse and Am. Independence," 280.
"Liberal Tradition," by Orton, 486.
Liberman, Simon, "Building Lenin's Russia," 503.
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Lichtenstein, Walter, (R) 153.
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Lincoln, Abraham: Baringer, A House Dividing: Lincoln as President Elect, 517; Monaghan, Diplomat in Carpet Slippers, 338; *id.*, comp., Lincoln Bibliog., 1839–1939, 163; Randall, Lincoln the President: Springfield to Gettysburg, 726; Renne, Lincoln and the Land of the Sangamon, 765; Wilson, ed., Intimate Memories of Lincoln, 163.
Lindley, Harlow, (R) 162.
Lippincott, H. M., (R) 324.
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"Literary Study and the Scholarly Profession," by Craig, 353.
Littleton-Griswold Fund, Com. for 1946, 584.
Livermore, S. W., *Theodore Roosevelt, the Am. Navy, and the Venezuelan Crisis of 1902–1903*, 452–71.
Lobeck, A. K., (R) 488.
Lobengula: Cloete, Against These 3, 489.

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Lollard Opposition to Oaths by Creatures, by Russell, 668–84.
"London and the Nat'l Govt., 1721–42," by Henderson, 298.
London, Kurt, "Backgrounds of Conflict," 351.
"Lone-Star Vanguard: The Cath. Re-Occupation of Tex. (1838–48)," by Bayard, 775.
Lonn, Ella, "The Colonial Agents of the Southern Colonies," 133.
Loughrey, Mary E., "France and Rhode Island, 1686–1800," 171.
Lovell, R. I., (R) 489.
Lucas, H. S., (R) 741.
"Ludolphus the Carthusian, The Vita Christi of," by Sister Mary Immaculate Bodenstedt, 147.
Lund, F. E., (R) 697.
Lydenberg, H. M., (R) 566.

McCallum, R. B., "Public Opinion and the Last Peace," 144.
McClendon, R. E., *Violations of Secrecy In Re Senate Executive Sessions, 1789–1929,* 35–54.
McCloy, S. T., "Govt. Assistance in 18th-Cent. France," 705.
McCrimmon, J. McN., *et al.,* (eds.) "Bibliog. of the Published Writings of J. S. Mill," 368.
McCune, G. M., (R) 122.
McDermott, Thomas, and Brown, S. J. M., "A Survey of Cath. Lit.," 144.
McDowell, Tremaine, (R) 765.
"Machiavelli, the Scientist," by Olschki, 150.
"Machiavellis Staatsgedanke," by Muralt, 706.
McInnis, Edgar, "The War: 5th Yr.," 528; (R) 100.
Mack, Gerstle, "The Land Divided: A Hist. of the Panama Canal and Other Isthmian Canal Projects," 284.
McKelvey, Blake, "Rochester, the Water-Power City, 1812–54," 515.
McKern, W. C., "Prelim. Rep. on the Upper Mississippi Phase in Wis., 777.
MacKinney, L. C., (R) 105, 147.
Macleod, Julia H., and Wright, L. B., "The First Americans in North America," 283.
"McLoughlin, John, The Letters of," 3d Series, 1844–46, ed. by Rich, 513.
MacMinn, Ney, *et al.,* (eds.) "Bibliog. of the Published Writings of J. S. Mill," 368.
McMurtrie, D. C., "A Bibliog. of Mississippi Imprints, 1798–1830," 560.
McNall, N. A., "The 1st Half-Cent. of Wadsworth Tenancy," 770.
McQuarrie, Irvine, (R) 530.
Maenchen-Helfen, Otto, (R) 120.
Magers, R. V., deceased, 194.
Maki, J. M., "Japanese Militarism: Its Cause and Cure," 124.
"Malaysia, The Peoples of," by Cole, 379.
Mâle, Emile, "L'art relig. de XII[e] au XVIII[e] siècle: Extraits choisis par l'auteur," 535.
Malin, J. C., (R) 553.
Maller, J. B., and Schneiderman, H., (eds.) "The Am. Jewish Yr. Bk., Vol. 47, 1945–46," 532.
"Man against Pain," by Raper, 530.
"Man and Society," by Bryson, 496.
Mance, Sir Osborne, "Internat. River and Canal Transport," 145.
Mandelbaum, D. G., (R) 716.
Mandelli, H. A., "Tucumán en la organización nacional," 572.
Mander, L. A., (R) 117.
Marcham, F. M., (R) 537.
Marchand, L. A., (ed.) "Letters of Thomas Hood," 367.
Marcondes de Souza, T. O., "O descobrimento da America e a suposta prioridade dos Portugueses," 177.
Marder, A. J., *From Jimmu Tennō to Perry: Sea Power in Early Japanese Hist.,* 1–34.
Maritime history: Hodson, Brit. Merchantmen at War, 1939–44, 541; Knox, ed., Register of Officer Personnel, U. S. Navy and Marine Corps, and Ships' Data, 1801–1807, 162; Laing, Clipper Ship Men, 161; Lewis, Admiral de Grasse and Am. Independence, 280; Livermore, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Am. Navy, and the Venezuelan Crisis of 1902–1903,* 452–71; Marder, *From Jimmu Tennō to Perry: Sea Power in Early Japanese Hist.,* 1–34; Panikkar, India and the Indian Ocean, 314; Schwartz, ed., *Commodore Perry at Okinawa,* 262–76; Wright and Macleod, The First Americans in North Africa, 283.
Marriott, Sir John, deceased, 194.
Marsh, Philip, *The Griswold Story of Freneau and Jefferson,* 68–73.
"Marshall, George C., Selected Speeches and Statements of," ed. by DeWeerd, 767.

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Marshall, James, "Santa Fe: The Railroad that Built an Empire," 732.
Marston, F. S., "The Peace Conference of 1919: Organization and Procedure," 98.
Marti, Berthe M., (R) 747.
"Marti en dos rios," by Quesada y Miranda, 182.
Martin, Frederick, "The Junker Menace," 373.
Martin, S. W., (R) 518.
Martin, T. P., (R) 766.
Martineau, Alfred, deceased, 605.
Martinsen, H. R., "Kampen for Danmark," 373.
"Maryland, Procs. and Acts of the General Assembly of, 1766–68," ed. by Pleasants, 773.
Matthews, William, (comp.) "Am. Diaries: An Annotated Bibliog. of Am. Diaries Written prior to the Yr. 1861," 764.
May, E. C., "Principio to Wheeling, 1715–1945," 165.
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Medieval history: Book reviews, 104–109, 293–95, 493–95, 702–703; notices and lists of articles, 147–53, 360–65, 534–37, 747–51.
"Medieval Hist., The Prospects of," by Brooke, 147.
Megaro, Gaudens, notices and lists of articles, 157–58, 375, 545, 757–58.
"Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel," by Battle, 774.
"Men of Science in Am.," by Jaffe, 318.
Meredith, Roy, "Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man: Mathew B. Brady," 728.
Merriman, R. B., deceased, 413.
Methodology: Bodin, Method for the Easy Comprehension of Hist., 90; Gottschalk, *et al.*, The Use of Personal Docs. in Hist., Anthropology, and Sociology, 91.
"Mexican Gold Trail: The Jour. of a Forty-niner," by Evans, 778.
"Mexico's Role in Internat. Intellectual Cooperation," 182.
Meyer, Adolph, "Voltaire: Man of Justice," 111.
"Microfilms, Index of, Series A, Lots 1–1737," 352.
Midgley, L. Margaret, (ed.) "Ministers' Accts. of the Earldom of Cornwall, 1296–97," II, 362.
"Midnight Cry," by Nichol, 331.
"Midwest at Noon," by Hutton, 776.
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"Mill, John Stuart, Bibliog. of the Published Writings of," ed. by MacMinn, *et al.*, 368.
Miller and the Millerites, *See* Nichol, F. D.
Miller, Justin, (R) 742.
Miller, William, (R) 143, 355.
Mills, L. A., (R) 539.
Millspaugh, A. C., (R) 712.
Miner, D. C., (R) 284.
Mink, A. D., (comp.) "Union List of Ohio Newspapers Available in Ohio," 777.
Missions: Aberly, An Outline of Missions, 529; Bischoff, the Jesuits in Old Oregon, 1840–1940, 564; Hodge *et al.*, Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634, 563.
Mitchell, Mary H., (R) 331.
Mitchell, S. K., (R) 362.

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ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mizwa, S. P., (ed.) "Nicholas Copernicus," 150.
Mock, J. R., (R) 743.
Modern European history: Book reviews, 109–20, 295–312, 495–504, 703–16; notices and lists of articles, 153–59, 365–77, 537–47, 751–58.
Moley, Raymond, "The Hays Office," 167.
Møller, J. C., and Watson, Katherine, "Education in Democracy: The Folk High Schools of Denmark," 156.
Mommsen, T. E., (R) 150, 706.
Monaghan, Jay, "Diplomat in Carpet Slippers: Abraham Lincoln Deals with For. Affairs," 338; (comp.) "Lincoln Bibliog., 1839–1939," 163; (R) 728.
Monroe, James: Styron, The Last of the Cocked Hats, 508.
Montross, Lynn, "War Through the Ages," 99.
Moody, John, "John Henry Newman," 498.
Moody, T. W., "Thomas Davis, 1814–45," 368.
"Moore, John Bassett, The Collected Papers of," 344.
Moorman, J. R. H., "Church Life in England in the 13th Cent.," 293.
"Mordaunt, John Viscount, The Letter-Book of, 1658–60," ed. by Coate, 366.
Moreau de Saint-Méry, M. L., "Descripcion de la parte española de Santo Domingo," 398.
Morgan, A. E., "The Philosophy of Edward Bellamy," 165.
Morgan, E. M., (R) 385.
Mormonism. *See* Brodie.
Morris, R. B., (R) 340.
Morris, W. A., deceased, 604.
Morton, R. L., (R) 391.
"Motley, J. L., The Diplomatic Mission of, to Austria, 1861–67," by Sister M. Claire Lynch, 354.
Moulton, F. R., and Schifferes, J. J., (eds.) "The Autobiog. of Science," 142.
Moya, F. P., "Los Indios de Cuba en sus tiempos historicos," 783.
"Muhlenberg, Henry Melchior, The Jours of," tr. by Tappert and Doberstein, II, 551.
Mukerjee, Radhakamal, "The Econ. Hist. of India, 1600–1800," 312.
Mullett, C. F., (R) 365, 390.
Munro, Katharine, "France Yesterday and Today," 543.
Muralt, Leonhard, "Machiavellis Staatsgedanke," 706.

"Names on the Land," by Stewart, 381.
Nasatir, A. P., "French Activities in Calif.: An Archival Calendar-Guide," 175.
"Nation of Nations," by Adamic, 505.
"National Archives of Latin Am.," by Hill, 781.
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"NEA Hist.," by Fenner, 167.
Negro: Aptheker, Essays in the Hist. of the Am. Negro, 519; Jackson, Negro Officeholders in Va., 1865–95, 774.
Nelson, G. H., *Contraband Trade under the Asiento, 1730–39*, 55-67.
Nelson, M. F., "Korea and the Old Orders in Eastern Asia," 122.
"Netherlands and the U. S.," by Vlekke, 355.
Nettels, Curtis, (R) 134.
Neumann, Sigmund, (R) 102.
"New Netherland, Portrait of," by Raesly, 321.
"New York Advancing . . . 1939–45," ed. by Rankin, 558.
New York *Times* staff, "The Newspaper: Its Making and Its Meaning," 554.
Newell, E. T., "The Byzantine Hoard of Lagbe," 146.
"Newes from the New-World," ed. by Wright, 774.
Newman, Bernard, "Balkan Background," 307.
Newman, J. H.: Harrold, John Henry Newman, 498; Moody, John Henry Newman, 498; Newman: Commemorative Essays, 742.
Newspapers: The Economist, 1843–1943, 153; Furneaux, The 1st War Correspondent: W. H. Russell of *The Times*, 541; Hinshaw, A Man from Kansas: The Story of

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William Allen White, 553; Kobre, The Devel. of the Colonial Newspaper, 134; Marsh, *The Griswold Story of Freneau and Jefferson,* 68-73; Mink, comp., Union List of Ohio Newspapers Available in Ohio, 777; The Newspaper: Its Making and Its Meaning, 554; A Rep. on the Office of Censorship, 554.
Nichol, F. D., "The Midnight Cry," 331.
Nichols, Jeannette P., (R) 137, 737.
Nock, A. D., (R) 491.
Norby, C. H., deceased, 415.
"Nordens Historia, Studier till den Stora Krisen i, 1517–23," by Bergström, 372.
"Norges Kamp, Bøker om: Bibliografiske Samlinger," by Skard, 372.
Norris, G. W., "Fighting Liberal," 343.
"North Africa, The First Americans in," by Wright and Macleod, 283.
"North Atlantic Triangle," by Brebner, 286.
Northern Europe: Notices and lists of articles, 156, 372–73, 544, 755–56.
"Norway in World Hist.," by Keilhau, 156.
"Norway's Rôle on the Northern Front" (Arctic War), 372.
"Norwood, Richard, The Jour. of," 365.
Norwood, W. F., (R) 329.
Notestein, Wallace, (R) 278.
Nothstein, I. O., (ed.) "Selected Docs. Dealing with the Organization of the 1st Congregations and the 1st Conferences of the Augustana Synod and Their Growth until 1860," I, 383.
Numismatics: Newell, The Byzantine Hoard of Lagbe, 146; Toynbee, Roman Medallions, 103; West and Johnson, Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt, 698.
Nute, Grace L., (R) 753, 764.
Nutting, W. D., (R) 371.
Nye, R. B., (R) 510.

Obituaries, 193, 411, 603, 796.
Odegaard, C. E., "Vassi and Fideles in the Carolingian Empire," 105.
"Officer Personnel, Register of, U. S. Navy and Marine Corps, and Ships' Data, 1801–1807," ed. by Knox, 162.
"Ohio Newspapers Available in Ohio, Union List of," comp. by Mink, 777.
Okinawa, Commodore Perry at, ed. by Schwartz, 262–76.
"Old Calif. Trail," by Altrocchi, 777.
Oldfather, W. A., (R) 291.
Oliver, J. W., (R) 136.
Olschki, Leonardo, "Machiavelli, the Scientist," 150.
Oncken, Herrmann, deceased, 604.
One-Party Period of Am. Hist., by Sydnor, 439–51.
"Origins of Inter-Am. Interest, 1700–1812," by Bernstein, 524.
Orton, W. A., "The Liberal Tradition," 486.
Osland, Birger, "A Long Pull from Stavanger: The Reminiscences of a Norwegian Immigrant," 383.
"Ottawa Old and New," by Brault, 752.
Otto, L.-G., "Considérations sur la conduite du gouvernement américain envers la France, depuis le commencement de la Révolution jusqu'en 1797," 282.
"Outlook for Postwar Eur.," 532.
Overton, R. C., (R) 732.
Owen, E. D., (prep.) "Index to Publications and Articles on Latin Am. Issued by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1902–43," 179.

Pacheco, J. R., "Cien años de vida universitaria," 401.
"Pacific, The U. S. Moves across the," by Latourette, 768.
"Pacific World, Native Peoples of the," by Keesing, 159.
Packard, L. B., (R) 351.
Paine, Thomas: Foner, ed., The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine, 724; Woodward, Tom Paine, 328.
Palencia, Isabel de, "Smouldering Freedom: The Story of the Spanish Republicans in Exile," 356.
Paltsits, V. H., (R) 321.
Pan Ku, "The Hist. of the Former Han Dynasty," 120.
Pan Wei-tung, "The Chinese Constitution: A Study of 40 Yrs. of Constitution-making in China," 718.
Panama Canal: Mack, The Land Divided, 284.
Panikkar, K. M., "India and the Indian Ocean," 314.
"Papers Relating to the For. Relations of the U. S., 1930," 523; communication, 803.
"Papers Relating to the For. Relations of the

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Pargellis, Stanley, "The Corp. and the Historian," 142; (R) 383, 721.
Paris Peace Conference, Disposal of the Carolines, Marshalls, and Marianas at the, by Fifield, 472–79.
Paxson, F. L., *The Highway Movement, 1916–35,* 236–53.
"Peace Conference of 1919: Organization and Procedure," by Marston, 98.
Peattie, D. C., "Immortal Village," 370.
Peck, Mary G., "Carrie Chapman Catt," 164.
Pecock, Bishop Reginald, by Green, 534.
"Pennsylvania's 2d Yr. at War, Dec. 7, 1942–Dec. 7, 1943," by Stevens *et al.,* 558.
Pepper, G. W., "Philadelphia Lawyer: An Autobiog.," 137.
Peraza y Sarausa, Fermín, "Bibliografias cubanas," 566.
"Perilous Fight," by Swanson, 559.
Perkins, Dexter, (R) 354.
Perkins, E. R., communication, 803.
Perry, Commodore, at Okinawa, ed. by Schwartz, 262–76.
Perry, R. B., "Puritanism and Democracy," 129.
"Philadelphia Bibliog. Center and Union Lib. Catalogue: Union List of Microfilms, Supp. 3 (1944)," 142.
"Philadelphia Lawyer," by Pepper, 137.
"Philippe II, Corresp. de, sur les affaires des Pays-Bas," by Lefèvre, 302.
Phillips, T. R., (tr.) "Frederick the Great: Instructions for His Generals," 373.
"Philosophy, A Hist. of Western," by Russell, 485.
"Philosophy of Am. Hist.," by Zucker, 125.
"Photography, Hist. of," by Eder, 352.
Pickard, Madge E., and Buley, R. C., "The Midwest Pioneer: His Ills, Cures, and Doctors," 329.
Pierson, Donald, (ed.) "Survey of the Lit. on Brazil of Sociol. Significance Pub. up to 1940," 567.
Pinchon, Edgcumb, "Dan Sickles, Hero of Gettysburg and 'Yankee King of Spain,'" 552.
Pitman, F. W., (R) 346.
"Plainville, U.S.A.," by West, 174.
Pleasants, J. H., (ed.) "Procs. and Acts of the General Assembly of Md., 1766–68," 773.
"Plural Office-holding in Mass., 1760–80," by Brennan, 390.
Pohl, F. J., "Amerigo Vespucci: Pilot Major," 694.
"Poland," ed. by Schmitt, 113.
"Poland and Russia, 1919–45," by Shotwell and Laserson, 545.
"Poland, Brit. Public Opinion and the 1st Partition of," by Horn, 540.
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"Polish Worker," by Gross, 158.
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Post, Gaines, (R) 362.
Pound, Arthur, "Lake Ontario," 337.
Pratt, J. W., (R) 167.
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Promotions and appointments, 195, 415, 605, 798.
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Quigley, H. S., (R) 521.

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Ragan, A. E., "A Hist. of Tusculum College, 1794–1944," 562.
Ragatz, Lowell, (R) 95, 529, 543.
Railways. *See* Transportation.
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Rau, Santha R., "Home to India," 154.
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Raymond, Dora N., (R) 366.
Read, Conyers, (R) 538.
Realey, C. B., (R) 298.
Reed, T. H., (R) 112.
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Rich, E. E., (ed.) "The Letters of John McLoughlin from Ft. Vancouver to the Governor and Com.: 3d Ser., 1844–46," 513.
Riegel, R. E., (R) 382.
Risk, J. C., "Brit. Orders and Decorations," 541.
Rister, C. C., "Border Command: Gen'l Phil Sheridan in the West," 730; (R) 778.
Ritter, Gerhard, "Lebendige Vergangenheit," 711.
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Robertson, W. S., (R) 781.
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Roelker, W. G., (R) 171.
Rogers, J. G., "World Policing and the Constitution," 356.
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Ropes, E. C., (R) 311.

Rosenberg, Hans, (R) 373.

Ross, E. D., (R) 335.

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Rowse, A. L., "The Eng. Spirit," 366; "The Spirit of Eng. Hist.," 537.

Rudy, S. W., (R) 355.

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Russell, G. A., (R) 557.

Russell, H. G., *Lollard Opposition to Oaths by Creatures*, 668–84.

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Sellery, G. C., (R) 295.
Seton-Watson, Hugh, "Eastern Eur. between the Wars, 1918–41," 308.
Shannon, F. A., "The Farmer's Last Frontier," 333.
Sharp, Morrison, (R) 507.
Sharp, R. H., "South America Uncensored," 347.
Sheridan, Gen'l Phil, by Rister, 730.
Shotwell, J. T., and Laserson, M. M., "Poland and Russia, 1919–45," 545.
Shryock, R. H., (R) 318.
Sibley, Mulford, and Wardlaw, Ada, "Conscientious Objectors in Prison, 1940–45," 554.
Sickles, Dan, by Pinchon, 552.
"Sigtuna: Sveriges Äldsta Medeltidsstad," by Floderus, 360.
"Sikhs in Relation to Hindus, Moslems, Christians, and Ahmadiyyas," by Archer, 716.
Silberner, Edmund, (R) 141.
Silver, A. W., (ed.) *Henry Adams' "Diary of a Visit to Manchester,"* 74–89.
Sister M. Claire Lynch, "The Diplomatic Mission of J. L. Motley to Austria, 1861–67," 354.
Sister Mary Immaculate Bodenstedt, "The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian," 147.
Sister M. Monica Wagner, "Rufinus, the Translator," 360.
Skard, Sigmund, "Bøker om Norges Kamp: Bibliografiske Samlingar," 372.
Skaustrup, Peter, "Det Danske sprogs historie," 156.
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Slosson, Preston, (R) 144.
Smith, Al, by Graham, 553.
Smith, B. L., *et al.,* "Propaganda, Communication, and Public Opinion: A Comprehensive Ref. Guide," 743.
Smith, C. H., (R) 777.
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Smith, T. C., (R) 761.
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Social Sci. Research Council awards, 409.
Socinianism. *See* Wilbur, E. M.
Solow, Herbert, (R) 730.
"South America Uncensored," by Sharp, 347.
"Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad," by Schuman, 713.
Soward, F. H., (R) 154.
Sowerby, E. M., (R) 764.
Spenser, Edmund, by Judson, 538.
Spiller, R. E., (R) 171.
Spotswood, Alexander, "Iron Works at Tuball," 391.
Sprigge, C. J. S., "The Devel. of Modern Italy," 303.
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Stampp, K. M., (R) 163, 765.
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Stearns, R. P., (R) 129.
Steefel, L. D., (R) 501.
Steinberg, S. H., "A Short Hist. of Germany," 115.
Steinman, D. B., "The Builders of the Bridge: The Story of John Roebling and His Son," 136.
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Stephenson, G. M., (R) 387, 553.
Stern, B. J., "Am. Medical Practice in the Perspectives of a Cent.," 163.
Stevens, S. K., *et al.*, "Pa.'s 2d Yr. at War, Dec. 7, 1942–Dec. 7, 1943," 558.
Stewart, G. R., "Names on the Land," 381.
Stimson, Dorothy, (R) 141.
"Stone, Chief Justice, and the Supreme Court," by Konefsky, 767.
Strong, C. F., "Dynamic Europe: A Background of Ferment and Change," 704.
Stroup, H. H., "The Jehovah's Witnesses," 166.
"Stuart, Jeb., War Yrs. with," by Blackford, 518.
"Stuart, Marie, Queen of Scots: A Concise Bibliog.," by Tannenbaum, 365.
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Swain, J. W., (R) 492.
Swanson, N. H., "The Perilous Fight," 559.
Sweet, A. H., (R) 106.
Swisher, C. B., "The Growth of Constitutional Power in the U. S.," 722.
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"Thackeray, W. M., The Letters and Private Papers of," ed. by Ray, I, II, 499.
Thayer, Theodore, (R) 761.
"Thomistic Bibliog., 1920–40," by Bourke, 534.
Thompson, C. Mildred, (R) 736.
Thompson, R. T., deceased, 194.
Thompson, W. S., "Population and Peace in the Pacific," 759.
Thoreau, H. D.: Whicher, Walden Revisited, 170.
Thorndike, Lynn, communication, 802.
Thorp, Willard, (R) 170.
"Three Ages: An Essay on Archaeol. Method," by Daniel, 357.
Throckmorton, Sir Francis, by Barnard, 540.
"Thucydides, A Hist. Commentary on," by Gomme, I, 492.
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Törne, P. O. von, "Finland under Etthundratrettio År 1809–1939," 373.
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Toynbee, J. M. C., "Roman Medallions," 103.
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Trewartha, G. T., "Japan: A Physical, Cultural and Regional Geog.," 123.
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Troncoso de la Concha, M. De J., "La Ocupacion de Santo Domingo por Haiti," 182.
Tryon, Ruth W., (R) 164.
"Tucumán en la organización nacional," by Mandelli, 572.
Turner, C. W., "Ruy Barbosa," 348.
"Tusculum College, A Hist. of, 1794–1944," by Ragan, 562.
"Twentieth Cent. Am.," by Dulles, 387.
"Twentieth Cent. World: A Reading Guide," by Scott, 744.
Twentieth of July in the Hist. of the Ger. Resistance, by Ford, 609–26.
Tyler, Alice F., (R) 333.

"Ukraine," by Chamberlin, 158.
Ulich, Robert, "Hist. of Educ. Thought," 352.
"Union College: An Unfinished Hist.," by Fox, 390.
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Usher, R. G., (R) 693.
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Vagts, Alfred, (R) 709, 711.
Vance, R. B., and Dainlevsky, Nadia, "All These People: The Nation's Human Resources in the South," 773.
Vandenbosch, Amry, (R) 304.
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Van Loon, H. W., "The Adventures and Escapes of Gustavus Vasa," 372.
"Vassi and Fideles in the Carolingian Empire," by Odegaard, 105.
Venable, Vernon, "Human Nature: The Marxian View," 141.
Venezuelan Crisis of 1902–1903, Theodore Roosevelt, the Am. Navy, and the, by Livermore, 452–71.
Venit, A. H., (ed.) *The Nat'l Bank in 1836: A Partisan Appraisal,* 685–88.
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Villacorta C., J. A., (comp.) "Bibliografia guatemalteca," 396.
Vipper, R. Y., "Ivan Groznyĭ [Ivan the Terrible]," 158.
"Virgin Islands," by Evans, 346.
Vlahovic, V. S., "250 Million and One Slavs: An Outline of Slav Hist.," 531.
Vlastos, Doros, "Cyprus, Past and Future," 355.
Vlekke, B. H. M., "The Evol. of the Dutch Nation," 304; "The Netherlands and the U. S.," 355; "The Story of the Dutch E. Indies," 378.
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"Voix de l'Orient," by d'Aumale, 531.
"Voltaire," by Meyer, 111.
Volwiler, A. T., (R) 97.
Von Martin, Alfred, "Sociology of the Renaiss.," 108.

"Wadsworth Tenancy, The 1st Half-Cent. of," by McNall, 770.
Wagstaff, H. M., deceased, 194.
Waite, F. C., "The Story of a Country Medical College: A Hist. of the Clinical School of Medicine and the Vt. Medical College . . . 1827–56," 170; "Western Reserve Univ. Centennial Hist. of the School of Medicine," 562.
"Walden Revisited," by Whicher, 170.
Waldman, Milton, "Elizabeth and Leicester," 539.
Wallace, P. A. W., "Conrad Weiser, 1696–1760," 506.
Walters, Raymond, jr., (R) 508.
"War Through the Ages," by Montross, 99.
Ward, R. S., "Asia for the Asiatics? The Techniques of Jap. Occupation," 504.
Wardlaw, Ada, and Sibley, M., "Conscientious Objectors in Prison, 1940–45," 554.
Warren, Charles, (R) 722.
Wasson, R. G., "The Hall Carbine Affair: A Study in Contemp. Folklore," 383.
Watson, Katherine, and Møller, J. C., "Educ. in Democracy: The Folk High Schools of Denmark," 156.
Watumull Prize, 574, 788; Com. for 1946, 585.
Webster, C. M., "Town Meeting Country," 135.
Wedel, Erhard von, (ed.) "Zwischen Kaiser und Kanzler: Aufzeichnungen des Generaladjutanten Grafen Carl von Wedel aus den Jahren 1890–1894," 709.
Weiser, Conrad: Graeff, Conrad Weiser, Pa. Peacemaker, 770; Wallace, Conrad Weiser, 1696–1760, 506.
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